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NOTE: *Readers will be interested to learn that a thesis from the pen of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the distinguished Indian Scholar cum Statesman, in which a vigorous plea is made for the replacement of English by Tamil and other national languages of India as the medium of instruction in Universities, will be published in the January 1956 issue of Tamil Culture.*

The January 1956 issue will also include Prof. Emeneau's article on 'Linguistic Pre-history of India'. Prof. Emeneau is Professor of Sanskrit and General Linguistics in the University of California and is engaged in the preparation of a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary in collaboration with Prof. Burrow of the Oxford University.

Tamil and Sanskrit in South India

PROF. J. FILLIOZAT.

It is a very great honour for me to address you at an Anniversary meeting of the Academy of Tamil Culture. But this honour is too great for me, and, I am afraid, it will be for you a hard task to follow me, owing to my inability to speak fluently any language other than my mother tongue. Nevertheless, if you are kind enough to excuse that inability, I shall be very happy to take the opportunity to present you the best felicitations and wishes for your work from the French institutions devoted to Indian studies and interested in the Tamil language and culture. Your splendid effort to promote Tamil studies was known in France since its very beginning, thanks to the publication of your valuable journal, *Tamil Culture.* In our opinion, no effort is more opportune, as, in the field of Indology, Dravidian studies have not yet fully received the attention they deserve.

It should not be useless to determine carefully the various reasons for the relative neglect of these studies. At first sight, we can see two main reasons at least : one is mainly an accidental reason, the other springs, I am afraid, from a prejudice.

The first knowledge of Indian literatures in Europe came chiefly from South India and from Dravidian sources, particularly from Tamil and Malayalam speaking peoples. European Christian missionaries were chiefly working in Tamilnad and they were learning even Sanskrit works through Tamil, Malayalam and also Telugu commentaries. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Tamil

philology was much more advanced than Sanskrit philology. The grammatical work of Beschi is an ever useful achievement. The lexicographical task of Beschi and of de Bourzes is still in use, through the French-Tamil dictionary of the Mission of Pondicherry, in which it was incorporated. On the contrary, Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries compiled before the nineteenth century have at present only a historical value.

It was at the end of the eighteenth century that the situation changed. At that time, *for political reasons, the main centre of activity of the Europeans in India passed from South India to Calcutta.* Here, Sanskrit was dominant and as it was, even in the South, the general literary language of all India, European scholars turned all their efforts towards that fundamental medium for the understanding of Indian civilisation. And, of course, it was not possible in Bengal to have any contact with Dravidian matters.

The other main reason for a relative neglect of the Dravidian languages was not thus accidental. It was *the consequence of a gradual rise of racial theories.* Preparing these, first arose ideas of a primitive purity of humanity and a very ancient and poetical language like Sanskrit was thought to be a worthy representative of such primitive purity. Above all, it seemed to be the purest existing form of the genuine language of a people, who were the common ancestors of the Europeans and of a part of the Indians. It was the Aryan tongue, this of the Aryas, the "Nobles". Other languages of India were corrupt forms of Sanskrit or foreign languages belonging to non-Aryan peoples, to slaves, owing all their culture to Sanskrit or Aryan influence.

Because of the transfer of the research activities to the North and in consequence of this racial prejudice, the South was depreciated. This prejudice was very strong and misleading in the examination of the relations between

Sanskrit and Tamil Cultures. In spite of the discredit into which have fallen the racial ideas, their effect on the formation of conceptions has not yet vanished in all circles of Indologists.

That is why I propose to make some remarks on the respective real positions of Sanskrit and Tamil in the Tamil country.

In the opinion of some early Indologists, Tamil was merely one of the vernacular languages of all India. The languages of India were classified in three strata : ancient Indian or Sanskrit, middle-Indian or *prakrits* and vernaculars or modern tongues. That is roughly exact for the Indo-Aryan family, but not for the Dravidian one, especially for Tamil. Tamil is an ancient language preserved till to-day with evolution and was parallel to Sanskrit, *prakrits* and Indo-Aryan vernaculars along the periods of history, not only because it was foreign to Indo-Aryan in its nature but also as its literature was autonomous side by side with those of Indo-Aryan languages. Nearly all other Indian literatures were also cultivated side by side with Sanskrit literature in every linguistic region of India, but generally without being autonomous and being, on the contrary, dependent on Sanskrit literature. Furthermore, these literatures are not means of expression of a *complete* culture. They possess original poems but not books on *all* matters of knowledge ; books in some fields are only in Sanskrit, or in translations from Sanskrit or do not exist at all in such literatures. Tamil literature, on the contrary, is complete in itself as means of cultural expression. Even translators from Sanskrit into Tamil were, in ancient times at least, very free with the original and re-arranged and recast the contents to suit the genius of their own language and culture.

Accordingly, it is not correct to place Tamil, and also some other ancient languages of India possessing a fully developed literature, on the same footing as modern lan-

guages strictly dependant on Sanskrit with only partially developed cultural literatures. Compared with Sanskrit, Tamil is surely autonomous. But that does not mean, as some are inclined to think, absence of fruitful and permanent relations.

If we listen to the claims of some Tamil traditions, we have to admit not only the independant origin of Tamil literature, but even its priority to Sanskrit literature. According to these traditions, revered authors, like Agastiyar, wrote several thousand years ago, and even some Vaisnava saints are referred to as having appeared in remote ages of past *Yugas*. On the other hand, the Indus Valley civilisation of Harappa and Mohan-jo-Daro possibly was Dravidian and very probably was destroyed by Indo-Aryan Sanskrit speaking peoples. It is surely easy to build on these data an hypothesis showing ancient Tamil literature born in the Indus Valley long before the Aryan invasions; then repelled to the South, and partially preserved as well as continued there. The recent attempts at deciphering the Indus Valley writing through classical Tamil favour such a view.

Unfortunately for that hypothesis, traditions like these ascribing a very remote origin to Agastiyar and to parts of the *Divyapirabandam* of the Alvars are not ancient, and it happens they are in absolute contradiction with references in the texts to things or persons of historical times. A comparative study of the language of such antedated writings with books of known date is, indeed, enough to fix their chronology. Furthermore, the evidence of the evolutionary processes of language is against the possibility of finding classical Tamil in the writings of the Indus Valley, even if the civilisation of the country was Dravidian.

In any case, even if we study extant literature only and leave aside lost books and unknown ages, we have enough to do and we can at least get some positive indi-

cations about the antiquity of ancient Tamil literature and about its relations with Aryan culture.

From a historical point of view, our records do not go earlier than the time of the first contacts between Dravidian and Aryan Cultures. Even the stories concerning Agastiyar, in Sanskrit 'Agastya', refer to an influence from the North on Tamil Culture, to a kind of cultural conquest of the South by the Northern Brahmanism as indicated in Valmiki's *Ramayana*. But, as we have already said, stories on Agastya are not very ancient and we may add they perhaps come from a rather late period of Sanskritisation and Brahmanisation about which we shall have to refer again.

In fact, as soon as history begins for Tamilnad we see it already divided into three kingdoms free from dependence on the North. These kingdoms are indeed enumerated by Asoka in the middle of the third century B.C. in his II rock edict among the countries outside (*amta*), like Ceylon and that of Antiochos, and two, Coda and Pandiya (Colar and Pandiyar) are again mentioned in the XIII rock edict, in the group of *amta* countries by opposition with royal lands (*lajavisaya*). We are sure at that time relations between the North and South were close as Asoka was sending embassies to all these countries in order to promote the *dhammavijaya*, the authority of the good order. Cerar kingdom was already mentioned by Asoka under its Indo-Aryan name *Kerala*, as *Kelalaputa* in the prakrit of the king.

The *Dhamma* propagated to all border countries was certainly Buddhist Dhamma, like what we see in the example of Ceylon, but in the Asoka edicts the word *Dhamma* covers a more comprehensive notion. It was the general and universal good order typified in Buddhist form but inheriting the Brahmanic idea of the cosmic, social and ethical Norm, *Rta* and *Dharma* in Sanskrit. We have evidences of the respect paid by Asoka to the Brahmanic calendar of sacred times and to the astronomy of the *Jyo-*

tisavedanga, as he gave prescriptions for *caturmasa* and *tisya* and *punarvasu* days (Pillar V, Kalinga I and II) and let his pilgrimage's journey of 256 nights to be fixed according to data which we can prove were those of the *Jyotisavedanga.* Accordingly, it is quite sure both Brahmanical and Buddhistic ideas were preached in Tamilnad in the third century B.C. They were preached through middle-Indo-Aryan dialects as these were in common use in the states of Asoka, "Magadhan king" according to his official title, and throughout all countries of India under his sway. We have no evidence for the propagation in Tamilnad of doctrines in Sanskrit at that time, though a knowledge of Sanskrit also in this country at that time can by no means be excluded.

We have, indeed, some indications of contact between the South and the Brahmanical circles of the North at an earlier date at the time of Candragupta Maurya, *i.e.,* at the end of the fourth or the very beginning of the third century B.C.

This presumption arises from an identification, we may propose, of a story told by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Candragupta, with a story current in the Pandyan kingdom. Megasthenes speaks of the legend of a so-called Indian Herakles, worshipped according to him, by the Surasenoi of Methora, that is the Surasena of Mathura. This Indian Herakles is generally identified with Krsna, as, in fact, Krsna was truly worshipped in Mathura. But it is impossible to find any corresponding legend in Sanskrit literature concerning Krsna. Deformations by the Greek author were surmised, but, if we examine the legend in detail, we observe it relates explicitly to South India and evidently refers to the Pandyan kingdom, as the daughter of the Indian Herakles was called Pandaia. Therefore we have to search for the origin of the story in Tamil literature not in Sanskrit. Actually, its basis appears in the *Thiruvilayadal Puranam,* which though a later work contains many ancient traditional

data. In this *Puranam* we find a story of the queen Pandi. A king is issueless and invokes the grace of Civan. By favour of the God appears a little girl miraculously in his hands when he was offering a libation in the fire. He adopts her as his daughter and when at the age of marriage she becomes queen, she wants, for husband, only a prince able to defeat her in combat. Many tried but without success. At last Civan himself, in the incarnation of a young hero, defeated and married her. In the Greek version Herakles has only one daughter and as nobody is worthy to marry her, he becomes himself her husband. Evidently in that Greek adaptation Herakles is not Krsna of Mathura but Sivan under a Greek name, and the story comes from the Tamil tradition of Pandya's Madurai, a Tamil counterpart of Northern Mathura. That is important because Megasthenes never travelled in the South, and surely the story was told him at Pataliputra or in some other part of Northern India circa 300 B.C., we can even add, in Brahmanical circles of Northern India. We have seen that Prakrit, not Sanskrit, was in general use throughout the empire of Asoka, grandson of Candragupta, and so widely spread that it is hardly possible to think it was not the current language in the time of Candragupta itself. The words quoted by Megasthenes are however chiefly reproduced from Sanskrit not from Prakrit forms, and that is easy to explain, if Megasthenes, as ambassador, received his information from Brahmanical circles in the court of Candragupta, not from ordinary people.

Therefore, we must conclude that Tamil and Sanskrit traditions were early in contact but, thanks to Asoka's initiatives, ideas from Northern India came to Tamilnad mostly under Prakrit garment. That is corroborated by other facts.

Even much later, in the first half of the first century of the Christian era, when appeared the first dated Tamil inscriptions, those of Virapatnam-Arikamedu near Pondicherry, Sanskrit was not yet current in Tamilnad, as the

inscriptions in an Indo-Aryan language found along with the Tamil inscriptions are in Prakrit. These inscriptions are no doubt very short and very few, but we can at least be sure they are exactly comparable with those of Ceylon at the same epoch ; here also middle-Indian was employed, not Sanskrit. The characters of all these inscriptions around the beginning of the Christian era are the same and very similar in their shapes to the ancient Brahmi of Asoka, giving supplementary evidence of the importance of the contribution of Asoka's empire to the culture in the South.

If we now consider the ancient Tamil works, we find in almost all some allusions to Vedic or Brahmanic rites and the use of some Sanskrit words, though very few. When Indo-Aryan words are adopted in Tamil in Sangam literature, they are more frequently borrowed from Prakrit forms or with Prakritic features. Surely, Sanskrit and Prakrit cultures were known to some extent in Tamilnad but rather through Prakrit than through Sanskrit. Massive influence of Sanskrit in Tamil literature took place much more later.

If we consider it from a historical angle, we can well understand this fact. During the period when middle-Indian dialects were in common use, Sanskrit was special to Brahmanical circles. In these circles it was the subject of regular teaching and therefore was well preserved in a fixed classical state. At the same time, middle-Indian dialects, owing to their wide and popular use, were always under transformation and became more and more differentiated and distinct, from one part of India to another. Sanskrit alone remained everywhere the same and accordingly became soon ready to become a *lingua franca*. In the centuries around the Christian era, Buddhist pilgrims, coming from very distant countries to holy places of Buddha's life, chiefly in the Ganges Valley where Sanskrit was flourishing, began to bring their differentiated middle-Indian dialects closer to Sanskrit, this finally gave birth

to the Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. But Sanskrit was also more widely employed in its regular form, precisely because it had a regular form, in the courts of rulers of foreign origin in the West. It was fit for inter-state intercourse and general administration and probably Brahmins, serving in the courts as ministers and officers, used it both as their language of culture and as the more important language of India, in opposition to the foreign tongues of rulers. In fact, Sanskrit was in vogue at the court of *satraps* like Rudradaman in the middle of the second century A.D., and since then was increasingly used in official documents as well as for secular literary purposes. From India, it was exported also to foreign countries. Towards the North, it was carried chiefly by Buddhist preachers to China and Japan. Towards the East, to Indo-China and Indonesia, it was carried by propagandists of Buddhism, Saivism and Vaisnavism. The first Sanskrit inscription in Indo-China found on the Eastern Coast dates back to about the third century and its palaeographical features are not far from those of the Rudradaman's inscription. After that epoch, during the Gupta period and later, Sanskrit inscriptions, in purely grammatical and refined Sanskrit of *inahakavyas,* appear in large numbers in the Far East and it is worthy to observe that their fashions of writing, and the ideas they express, are always in accordance with Indian fashions or Indian currents of thought. Thus, we can see all Indian influences coming from every part of India through Sanskrit and following the developments of Sanskrit literature. And it is specially important for us now to observe that close relations between Tamilnad and Cambodia existed through Sanskrit not through Tamil even at the time when the Pallava and Cola influences were at their highest. We must add it should be fruitful to compare Indian documents with their counterparts in Indo-Chinese and Indonesian Sanskrit inscriptions, as these are ordinarily clearly dated and can therefore give precious landmarks for history. Bearing this in mind, we can now re-examine the contacts of Tamil literature with Sanskrit.

The absence of strong influence of Sanskrit literature on the Sangam works of Tamil poetry appears to be quite natural. Before and around the beginning of the Christian era, when Sanskrit was just preparing for its secularisation and expansion, it was not yet able in the South to replace the Prakrits and to introduce new literary fashions. But after it was widespread as the language of official documents, diplomacy and general culture for communications between Indians and with foreigners, its influence gradually became deeper. In all likelihood, that took place in Tamilnad about the fourth century A.D., when the language of the chancellery of the Pallavas, which formerly was Prakrit, gave place to Sanskrit.

Since that time, the influence of Sanskrit was much more effective than that of Prakrit. Prakrit literature was not so impressive as the Sanskrit one. It was more special and of multifarious kinds. Its chief forms were Buddhist and Jaina. Jaina tradition, yet now living, brought many elements to Tamil Culture but not always through Prakrit, as Sanskrit became also a Jaina means of expression. Buddhist tradition was for many centuries flourishing in Tamilnad and most likely under the same Pali form as in Ceylon. We have, indeed, in Pali literature clear testimony of that fact ; the Pali literature of Ceylon has preserved the works in Pali of two famous Buddhist Tamilians, Buddhadatta, born at the end of the fourth century A.D. at Urayur, the Cola chief town and Dhammapala, both commentators of Pali Scriptures. But, as we see from Ceylonese chronicles, Tamilians were not as a general rule converted to the Buddhist creed. And, if we find testimony of the existence of Buddhism in Tamilnad specially at Kanchipuram till the fourteenth century, we may nevertheless be sure that this religion had already been in decadence for a long time, and was partly known through Sanskrit sects and sources. Therefore, while we have clear evidence of good knowledge of Buddhism in Tamil circles by books like *Nilakesi,* Buddhism did not

exert a profound influence on Tamil literature neither through Pali works, nor through Sanskrit.

On the other hand, before Sanskrit expansion took place in Tamilnad, roughly prior to the fourth century A.D., Tamil literature was already fully developed and quite ready to meet and survive the later massive invasion of Sanskrit. Only in some fields of learning it was apparently enriched, but in an original manner, by knowledge of Sanskrit lore. Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri has shown how the author of *Tolkappiyam,* assuming* that he had knowledge of Vedic *Pratisakhyas* and of the *Nirukta,* did utilize it, not on the Sanskrit model but with the finest feeling of the genius of the Tamil language quite different from Sanskrit in linguistic respect.

Vedic lore also was surely known in ancient times to Tamil authors, but was not adopted by the Tamils and Brahmanisation or Brahmanical social organisation came only with the later influence of *dharmasastras* of classical Sanskrit.

It does not follow from these observations that no kind of *dharma* was known in ancient Tamilnad before the borrowing of doctrines of these Sanskrit *dharmasastras.* We can trace in Prakrit Pallava inscriptions a useful indication. Sivakhamdavamma, according to the inscription of Hirahadagalli, received the honorific title of *dhammamaharajadhiraja,* "emperor following the Dhamma" and the same title reappears in later Sanskrit inscriptions of the same dynasty : Visnugopavarman was *dharmayuvamaharaja* and Simhavarman II *dharmamaharaja.* That is enough to prove the existence of the ideal of a kind of *Dhamma* amongst the Pallava kings but not to show the

* Dr. Sastri has based this assumption on inadequate data. First, he takes it for granted that Nirukta and Pratisakhyas are chronologically anterior to Tolkappiyam ; secondly, the existence of some similarities is *ipso facto* proof that the author of Tolkappiyam was acquainted with these Sanskrit works. Such uncritical and facile assumptions are too readily made by Sanskritists like Dr. Sastri, who refuse even to consider the possibility of the truth being just the opposite.—(Editor)

nature of this *Dhamma*. But, as its mention first appears before the vogue of Brahmanical learning in Tamilnad, we can try to trace its model in the original literature of the country and we think immediately of works like *Tirukkural*.

In that famous and admirable book, we find at first the *Aram* section, illustrating without any sectional religious bias, an ideal of good order of universal human interest. *Aram* is usually interpreted as an equivalent of Sanskrit *dharma,* but the ideal of Tiruvalluvar does not coincide with the *dharma* of Sanskrit *Smrtis.* It is surely more akin to the *Dhamma* of Asoka long ago preached in Tamilnad. It is akin also to the Jain ideal, as Prof. Chakravarti has recently pointed out. But we see that *Arattupal,* just after *Kadavul Valthu,* begins with *Vancirappu,* the eulogy of rain, and that seems to me very characteristic of an idea which is fundamental in the conception of Vedic *rta* : the good order, which is also the Truth, possesses as cosmical sign the regularity of coming of rainy season, the first and main condition of the life of all beings. Thus in free accordance with an ancient Vedic idea, Tiruvalluvar, nevertheless, did not follow special Vedic or Brahmanic speculations. Though exalting the greatness of those who have renounced the world (*nittar perumai*), he left aside the Vedantic search of the *Atman-Brahman* and he put the stress on family life (*ilvalkkai*) and on all human virtues. Such an ideal resting on adoration of God, praise to the cosmic Norm of the world and purity of conduct, completed by rules fit for kings and states as emphasised in *Porutpal,* is probably a true image of the *dhamma* or *dharma* referred to in Pallava inscriptions. In any case, *aram* of Tirukkural is the standard Tamil ideal of life, not ignoring various *dhammas* or *dharmas* of Aryan India, but autonomously fixed in Tamilnad.

After the increasing use of Sanskrit in the country, borrowings of Sanskrit words became gradually more numerous, but the Tamil genius continued to follow its

own ways in accordance with its own well fixed rules. Technical Sanskrit texts chiefly of *ayurveda* and *jyotisa* were frequently, but not always or not exclusively, inspiring Tamil compositions. Apart from these, the most known Sanskrit texts were, it seems, works not belonging to exclusively peculiar schools but works of wide popularity like *Bhagavadgita,* as we can trace some echoes of Gita in songs of Tamil saints. The works of these Saints, Alvars and Nayanmars were composed, it would seem, chiefly during the period of Pallava and Cola splendour. In their hymns or poems we frequently find Sanskrit words or allusions to ideas contained in Sanskrit literature but they use chiefly ordinary Tamil words without special technical meaning. Their songs are devotional songs, not philosophical compositions. But in their very time, philosophical speculations on Vedantic subjects began to be greatly active among Dravidian authors studying Sanskrit books like *Upanishads* and *Brahmasutras* and commenting upon these in Sanskrit. The illustrious Sankaracarya, cira 800 A.D., was thus a Sanskritizing Dravidian and one of the most eminent contributors to Sanskrit philosophical literature and following his example we see Sanskrit literature in Tamilnad, not entirely imported from the North to the South but partly created in the South itself.

The new Sanskrit literature of the South grew quickly and spread to the North, having, of course, at the same time a large influence in the South itself. Thus, when Tamil continued to be cultivated in accordance with its own traditions, it received a double dose of Sanskrit influence from both outside and inside. That led to an increasing popularity of Sanskrit studies in Tamilnad and to the introduction of an immense number of Sanskrit words into the Tamil language, even doubling some Indo-Aryan words already adopted on a middle-Indian form.

The development of philosophical speculations led also to a great effort at reinterpretations of Tamil works of religious interest according to the various views of Vedan-

tic circles. Thus began, for example, an exegesis on the hymns of the Alvars, chiefly Nammalvar. Almost every word of *Tiruvaymoli* was examined and interpreted in Sanskrit by many successive commentators, with the strongest tendency to find in it at any cost a meaning in accordance with the technical Sanskrit Vedantic vocabulary. All the literature in *manipravalam* thus substitutes such a vocabulary to simple Tamil words, just partly preserving the Tamil morphological structure of phrases. Moreover, the *Tiruvaymoli* was looked at as an *Upanisad*, the *Dramidopanisad* and, notwithstanding that, the entire work of Nammalvar was placed parallel to the Vedas: *Tiruviruttam* to *Rgveda*, *Tiruvaymoli* to *Sama*, *Tiruvaciriyam* to *Yajur*, and *Periatiruvandadi* to *Atharva*. That was quite arbitrary and manifestly a pure result of the prestige gained by Sanskrit in Vedantic circles of Tamilnad. That prestige, the widespread use of Sanskrit philosophy and the necessity of controversy with the Sanskrit school led also Ramanuja in the line of *Acaryas*, to become a Sanskrit author like Sankara, though he was a Tamilian of Sriperambudur and full of admiration for the Alvars, more particularly Andal. Founded on Tamil sources before the tenth century, the Srivaisnava movement flourished in Sanskrit alone during the following centuries.

Moreover, in almost every part of Tamil literature Sanskritization was in great honour during that period. Even in Tamil grammar so aptly established long ago in accordance with the very genius of the language, new grammars like *Viracoliyam*, tried to describe Tamil on the model of Sanskrit, as if it was a language with the same structural character.

Lastly, during the period of Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnad, the prestige of Sanskrit was actively maintained, as a great revival of Sanskrit and even Vedic studies took place in the court of Vijayanagar. Even in writing, new fashions were introduced from the North under the shape of *Nandinagari*, and the great work of Vedic com-

mentory by Sayana was undertaken under the patronage of the kings of Vijayanagar.

On another side, we have to note the interest manifested in Tamilnad for the Northern books even from Schools of far countries. We know through Father De Nobili in his *Apology,* a book entitled *Sindamani* was in honour in Madurai. According to the description of De Nobili, this book was certainly not the Tamil *Civagacintamani.* It was surely Sanskrit *Tattracintamani* by Gangesa, founder in Bengal of the *Naryanyaya* School. The sending of a copy of this book by French missionaries to Paris from South India in the first part of the eighteenth century under the abridged title *Sindamani* proves the fact.

Nevertheless, the influence of different sections of Sanskrit literature on Tamil culture was very unequal. Vedic lore, in particular, was very scarcely cultivated in Tamilnad through Tamil writings. On the other hand, in relatively late times, during the periods of great influence of Sanskrit some special fields of Tamil literature were developed in parallel with the corresponding parts of Sanskrit literature but preserving a great amount of originality. It seems the literature ascribed to Sittar falls under this class. Siddhas are, of course, well known in Sanskrit literature but we have before us two traditions, one in Sanskrit one in Tamil, till now appearing as very different.

In any case we have no need here to emphasize on the persistent activity of the Tamil literature in opposition to Sanskrit ; your work is the best witness of the high place of Tamil. We may conclude by saying that Sanskrit came into great vogue in Tamilnad after the full development of Tamil literature. When it arrived, it was welcomed and it gave Tamil literature new wealth without supplanting it. Thanks to Sanskrit influence, while preserving its own genius, and enriching Sanskrit literature itself, Tamilnad was able to permit two great cultures to flourish at the same time.

Dr. J. Filliozat, who is a keen student of Indian History and of Indian Culture, has a brilliant record of academic distinctions and activities.

Born in Paris on November 4, 1906, Dr. Filliozat took his Doctorate in Medicine in 1930. Soon he directed his attention to Oriental Studies, in which he has since become solely absorbed as is evidenced by the following events in his career.

1935—*Diploma of 'Ecole Nationale des Languages Orientales, Paris (with Tamil as modern Indian language).*

1945—*Secretary of the 'Societe Asiatique' since* 1945.

1946—*Doctor es Lettres (Paris).*

1952—*Professor, 'Le College de France', the most celebrated seat of learning in Paris.*

1952-55—*As President of the Administrative Board of the 'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient', went on cultural missions to Indo China.*

1953—*General Secretary of the International Union of Orientalists.*

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V. V. S. Aiyar's Approach to Kambar

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In the sweep of his imagination, in the unflagging sonorous qualities of his diction, in a feeling for dramatic situations, and in the individuality he bestows on the children of his creation, Kambar stands without question as the king of Tamil Literature. Students of Tamil would be justified in ranking him with the greatest of world-poets. In his greatness indeed he may not be free from lapses of taste, but then this is a quality he shares with Shakespeare. While Shakespeare's unerring sense is for the play of human feelings, Kambar's is for sheer poetry. By the rich glow of his verse, Tiruvalluvar's unequalled perfection in ethical poetry, or Kapilar's glories achieved in docile obedience to rigid literary convention, seem to grow pale and wan. Kambar's literary destiny is but one work, the *Kamba-Ramayanam.* The outlines of it indeed are borrowed from the Sanskrit. But the poet's allegiance to the original stops here. He exercises fully his right to be himself, and, "fancy-free", proceeds with the creation of that great ocean of literature to which his name is given. For, the *Kamba Ramayanam* is like an ocean. No study can exhaust it, no plumbing can fathom it thoroughly. It remains, when other inspirations run dry, the eternal life-giving source to the love of the study of Tamil.

If there is a duty of the literatures of the world to contact one another for mutual benefit, the Tamil Scholar has a duty to take the *Kamba Ramayanam* to the arena of the men of letters of other languages, nationalities and cultures. There is no medium so fitted as English for international communication. Naturally a translation of

the *Kamba Ramayanam* into English would be most welcome. It is truly a pity that there is no full translation available. It could not be for want of devotion, for, the *Kamba Ramayanam* is read with religious ardour in many a Tamilian Hindu's home. But a translation and a proper introduction to a study of it in English require absolute mastery of the two languages concerned. There, really, has been the drawback.

V. V. S. Aiyar has found time, among his many activities, to put a study of the *Kamba Ramayanam* before the English reading public. The work is not comprehensive, nor indeed does it profess to be. Beside the monumental work of Rev. G. U. Pope, the translation of the *Kural,* the *Tiruvacagam* and the *Naladiyar,* the work of V. V. S. Aiyar might indeed appear inadequate. But it is really only an introduction to a study of the work proper. V. V. S. Aiyar might have rendered substantial service to Tamil poetry had he taken more pains over this work. But he chose to devote only part of his talents and time to this cause, and so the fact remains that the *Kamba Ramayanam* still awaits a competent translator and competent critics to study those many facets of it which V. V. S. Aiyar has passed by.

Incomplete as it is, V. V. S. Aiyar's study of *Kamba Ramayanam* deserves attention as a praiseworthy venture into a vast field. The world tends to eye with suspicion the boosting of a language by half-ignorant enthusiasts. Let but the proofs of greatness be brought, and thinking men all over the world are willing to welcome to their midst the hitherto unknown classics which bear witness to the omnipresence of genius.

V. V. S. Aiyar has indeed taken for his study that aspect of Kambar which is not above criticism — the dramatic side of his work. The characters are largely borrowed from Valmiki, and except for a few individual touches here and there, as in the love of the maiden Sita

and the idealisation of the major characters in general, we could recognise the old Sanskrit friends with new faces here. There is much that is sentimental, unrealistic, and grotesque. The Tamil epic poet has not recognised the Latin convention that the epic should revolve round a few momentous days and not be a narration of the story from A to Z. There is also a sensuousness in him which does not fail to discolour even the best of his human portraits. And yet, perhaps, V. V. S. Aiyar is justified in opening the great theme of the study of Kambar by introducing the characters to his audience. For, after all, lovers of Tamil poetry are fewer than lovers of *Kamba Ramayanam.* The characters are familiar to many while the poetry belongs to the literate few. These characters have captivated and held in bondage the minds of the Tamils through many generations, and it is fitting that the western world should have an idea of the fascination—for the most part religious —exercised by them.

The characters of the *Ramayanam* are many and great, but the two names which spring instantly to our lips, the names which form part of many a religious incantation in Hindu households are the names of Rama and Sita. These two characters are drawn with unwavering idealism by Kambar. No study of his *Ramayanam* would be complete without one or the other of these. Unfortunately, V. V. S. Aiyar, who had reserved Sita's character to the last as the plum of his pudding, did not live to treat his audience to it. The unnamed substitute for V. V. S. Aiyar who has heroically striven to complete the study, has not, despite the tribute of the *Sunday Bharat,* done full justice to Sita. Kambar's Sita is married to Rama with the customary marriage rites, but she is no soulless doll who simply submits to her guardian's will. The husband to whom she gives her hand is the lover to whom she has already given her heart, and this coincidence seems to be the ratification of a pure passion by the powers divine. She had solemnly sworn to end herself should Rama prove to be other than

he who had touched her heart. So with her marriage really is her first moral victory, the legitimate fore-runner of the second moral victory over the foul advances of Ravana. So Sita as a bride in the *Kamba Ramayanam* is decidedly more interesting than she is in Valmiki. Again the indelicacy of her language used to Lakshmana in Valmiki is considerably mitigated in Kamban, where though she is desperate at his coolness on hearing Marichan's dying cry in Rama's voice, she does not at least fling the charge of illicit passion in the face of her husband's worthy brother. It has been pointed out that even in the description of Sita's person Kambar is not particularly delicate, but one believes the Sanskrit model is even less so, and Kambar has definitely not coarsened the picture, though he might have shown still better taste. Anyway a study of Kambar's Sita would be a separate volume by itself, and we are unfortunate in V. V. S. Aiyar's having left his work without its heroine.

There are other though less important omissions in V. V. S. Aiyar's work. Kaikeyi and Mandodari might have been more intensely studied. Kaikeyi's character is far more complex than that of Rama or Sita, steel-true and blade-straight, and we are not sure that she is thereby more interesting. Shurpanaka herself has not been more harshly condemned than this woman for claiming what was after all her due. But a sympathetic study of her character will show that she was not by nature so cunning or cruel as generally thought. Only two characters in the story strongly condemn her—her own son and her husband—and theirs is the blind passion of infatuation for Rama. Rama himself recognises that she has been another mother to him, and the man, who sternly reproves his devoted wife for her unwifely act of suffering life in another man's home, never sees anything unmotherly or worthy of reproof in Kaikeyi. It had been a former understanding between Dasaratha and Kaikeyi's father that her son should be heir. The king had also promised his young and favourite queen

the two dearest wishes of her heart. He had then, strange to say, arranged for the coronation of his eldest son, old arrangements overlooked, at the time when the prince's devoted brother Bharata was not there to share in the rejoicing. Putting all these things together, what was more natural for an impressionable young woman, especially when misguided by a counsellor totally wanting in generosity, than to demand her due, and further safeguard the interest of her son by exiling the prospective rival ? Against this, however, we must array the facts that, first of all, in Dasaratha's household the system of polygamy was unusually successful, the co-wives being perfectly contented, that the brothers were dearly devoted to one another and Rama was idolised by all the other three, that Rama himself had been the perfect son of Kaikeyi, and had touched her heart almost as much as Bharata, her own child, that long years of disinterested attachment among the members of the family had virtually annulled all earlier selfish interests, and Kaikeyi, knowing her husband's life itself was bound up in that of Rama, could not but have foreseen the fatal results of Rama's banishment. Justice indeed was on her side, and she thought that she had reason for claiming it ; but the bonds of human love in her case pulled the other way. Her failure to respond fully to this urge at a decisive moment is indeed the only failing which she is guilty of. But then this failing is the axis on which all subsequent action is pivoted, and everywhere else Kaikeyi is far from being a monster, though Kambar himself would take sides with her son against her.

Just a passing mention is made of Mandodari who surely deserves more. Sita herself, held up to the world as the brightest luminary of the story, is guilty of pettishness and short-sightedness at least in the forest scene where she urges Rama first and Lakshmana next after Marichan. One might throw the blame on Providence which had so arranged for the destruction of the *Rakshasas* ; but even if Providence put the weakness there, there

is no point in denying the weakness. Sita is also capable of wishing to see her tormentors widowed. Mandodari is nobility itself, and when we think of her love for her husband we should remember that she had far less reason to worship and love her husband than Sita had to worship hers.

V. V. S. Aiyar mentions one slight failing in Rama's love, but he has not been given time to explain it. Obviously it is the chilling reception Rama gives his wife when she is redeemed and brought to him after untold privations. He tells her that all that bloodshed was not for the sake of the shameless woman who endured existence in a stranger's home, but for the renown of his father's house. It is only after Sita has proved her loyalty by the fire-ordeal that he accepts her. Rama's part in the Vali-Sugriva business is equally distasteful to our mind. Rama considers himself bound in honour to avenge the wronged brother, but he puts himself in a very delicate position, and his shooting at the unprepared enemy is surely not an additional laurel to his martial reputation.

Aiyar has taken great pains to prove that Vibhishana is not a time-serving traitor but purely a bhakta of Rama, whose every act may be justified from that point of view. But unless Rama is to be completely divested of his human attributes we would think twice before accepting this. We can understand that Vibhishana strongly disapproved of his brother's misdeeds and that he recognized the greatness and virtue of the enemy. We can also understand his fleeing from his brother's camp upon Ravana's suspicion and anger being roused. But Ravana spared the brother whom he strongly suspected of treachery simply because of the call of blood. What we cannot bring ourselves to like in Vibhishana is his denying this call of the blood in him, and making himself instrumental to the punishment of his brother. Rama himself, for all the God that Kambar or Vibhishana would make him out to be,

frankly owns to Lakshmana that his victory over the Rakshasas was due to Vibhishana,

> With his counsel sage,
> That guided us to victory!

Let us call a spade a spade and be done with it. If this was not fratricide on the part of Vibhishana there is no other word for it. One finds no meaning in defending Rama's godhead against human reproach when he is to be judged as a man. Lakshmana is much nearer divinity when he expresses his disapproval of the affair of brother fighting against brother.

Every competent student of a literary work can have his own comments to make upon it. V. V. S. Aiyar's right to have his opinion cannot be questioned. Still there are statements of his, which, with due respect to his learning, I must own to be hyperbolic. For example, his purpose in studying *KambaRamayanam,* he says, is to prove that it is an epic challenging comparison, " not merely with the *Iliad* and the *Aenid,* the *Paradise Lost* and the *Mahabharata,* but with its original itself, namely, the *Ramayana* of Valmiki ". Here is an undisguised suggestion that Valmiki's *Ramayana* is decidedly superior to the *Paradise Lost,* the *Iliad* and the *Aenid.* One is not aware of the extent of V. V. S. Aiyar's intimacy with the *Iliad* and the *Aenid,* but in view of his recognized scholarship in English one must concede his authority to judge the *Paradise Lost.* The present writer confesses ignorance of Valmiki's *Ramayana,* except in so far as it is accessible in translations. But even bringing the *Paradise Lost* and the *KambaRamayanam* into the arena, one wishes that V. V. S. Aiyar had thought twice before committing himself to such a sweeping statement. The *KambaRamayanam* is nothing so sustained as the *Paradise Lost* for all its magnificence, and though for sheer fluency of language one does indeed wonder whether Kambar or Milton deserves the palm, there are again and again instances when we feel of Kambar that he might

have blotted a thousand lines of his composition after the whiteheat of their creation had cooled down. This is not what one associates with the *Paradise Lost.* Kambar's defect is not merely that he is voluble ; the torrent of rich music which his poetry affords trespasses into many a field which a finer taste would leave untouched. V. V. S. Aiyar's enthusiasm for the *Ramayana* has swept him here off the stand of sensible criticism. Indeed the two works, *Paradise Lost* and the *KambaRamayanam* should not be compared as epics. The ideas that we have imbibed from the west, of epic grandeur and epic restraint, will not stand when we read the *KambaRamayanam.* Spenser's *Fairie Queene,* in general structure, is much nearer to the *Kamba-Ramayanam* than the *Paradise Lost.* True, that is no reason why the *KambaRamayanam* should not be an epic, and a great epic, according to oriental standards. The test of time has proved its worth. It is not merely the religious colouring of the story which has captivated Tamilnad. The testimony of all subsequent Tamil poets is there to supprot its literary claims.*

Granting this, we have still to face the fact that V. V. S. Aiyar has not fully succeeded in substantiating his statement. Tamilians need nothing more than the *KambaRamayanam* as evidence of its own greatness. But in introducing the *KambaRamayanam* to the non-Tamil world as a mighty work much more is needed than retelling the story or considering the characters which after all are borrowed from the Sanskrit to convince the audience of its merits. V. V. S. Aiyar's book, which is mainly a study of the characters of the *KambaRamayanam,* is but the beginning of what might have been a monumental work.

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* Almost every cultivated language has its own distinctive features which defy comparison with other languages and it is not therefore possible to arrive at absolute standards which can guide literary criticism in comparing the literature of one language with that of another. Both V. V. S. Aiyar and his critic appear to err in making such comparisons, one in favour of and the other against *Kamba-Ramayanam.* Vague generalisations such as western and oriental standards carry us nowhere. (Editor)

The magic of *KambaRamayanam* is not merely the magic of the story or the characters involved though surely Kambar knew his advantage when he fixed upon his subject. One needs but to listen to the drugging music of a few of his best stanzas at a stretch to know of the power in the hands of a master of the art. To bring this out in another language is no easy work, though one feels that V. V. S. Aiyar is one of the competent few who could have made a brave attempt. But he has let the opportunity go by, and contents himself with translating only such of Kambar's stanzas as bear directly on the characters he discusses.

His achievement by itself is indeed not inconsiderable. In twenty pages he presents a crisp narrative of the story without knowing which, one could not be introduced to the characters. His study of Lakshmana is excellent. So is his view of Indrajit. Even the other characters he presents would be interesting to those who are absolutely unacquainted with them. For a first introduction to them we could look for no better. Supplemented as it is with translations from the original it does give an idea of the substance of *KambaRamayanam.*

But substance is not everything. Manner in poetry cannot be ignored. V. V. S. Aiyar has translated into blank verse the resonant stanzas of the great Tamil poet. Milton has made the blank verse the language of the epic in English. But I do not think that it is Kambar's singing style which can be successfully represented in blank verse. And any style has to be handled by a born poet to make blank verse worth the reading. V. V. S. Aiyar's prose is clear and lucid and answers his purpose well. But I doubt if the same thing could be said of his verse. I am sure that a verse like

Fly
Before death overtakes you Indrajit,
And saying,—died

Or

Hissing clove the air with force abnorm

Or

All highly virtues come
By instinct to the children of thy race.

even sacrifices sense and grammar to the demands of metre. Of all verse forms, blank verse would be the last to demand such sacrifice, and one can safely say that he who puts blank verse on stilts thus would not be capable of shaping it in any style, much less Kambar's style. Occasionally the verse does go smooth-flowing as in Hanuman's speech to Kumbakarna :

This rock I hurl at thee ; if from its shock
Thou canst escape alive, the world will count
Thy might invincible and I shall deem
Myself defeated at thy hands, and face
Thee not again in battle ; and great will be
Thy fame on earth.

Sufficiently competent as verse of this type is, its distance from the magic of the original is immeasurable. And yet we have not had better translators than V. V. S. Aiyar.

Translation indeed, is a thankless job, and if it is to be worth while it should generally be allowed some freedom. But translation which avails itself of freedom defeats its own purpose ; and translation which maintains absolute loyalty to the original is usually defeated by the genius of another language.

Rev. Pope's herculean labours have brought out in English faithful English editions of some of the great Tamil works. But though their value is undeniable they still do not equal their originals. Probably V. V. S. Aiyar was wise, in so far as his own reputation was concerned, in refraining from a complete translation or a translation of the most glorious passages of *KambaRamayanam.* But still the need for translation is there, a vast field unexplored.

When a lover of poetry thinks of Kambar it is not first of the *Ramayanam,* but of those haunting melodies of his that will not desert the ear even in dreams. It is stanzas like those ushering in the maiden Sita into the hall for her engagement, like the wonderful description of *Marudam,* like Sita's grief over the supposed death of her husband and a thousand soul-stirring episodes sung in undying verse. It is such glories that the Tamil literature thirsts to present to the world, and we wait for another V. V. S. to proceed with that work which his fore-runner had begun and left half-way.

Tribes of the Nilgiris —The Kotars

REV. F. LEGRAND

The Kotars are, after the Todas, one of the most remarkable among the Tribes inhabiting the Nilgiris. They are easily distinguishable among the other people of the Hills, when they come to the market of near-by towns such as Ootacamund, Kotagiri and Gudalur, close to which they have some of their settlements. They are well-built and good-featured, their skin having usually a copper colour; many of them are light-skinned. In fact, though much has been said and written about the Roman deportment of the Todas, many of them are rather dark-skinned, in spite of their having inhabited the Hills for many centuries; and the Badagas, who are comparatively recent comers to the Hills, are certainly of a fairer complexion. However some of the Kotars are the fairest skinned amongst the Hill tribes.

EXTERNAL APPEARANCE.

The head of the Kotars is well-formed, with a slightly elongated face, the forehead narrow but prominent. They keep their hair long and loose, or tie it carelessly at the back of the head; their eyebrows, dark and bushy, have a tendency to be united to each other; their nose, smaller and more sharply defined than it is with the Todas. On the whole, they are fairly good-looking, and their countenance indicates energy and decision.

The Kota women are rather shy, in contrast to the Toda women who are rather too bold sometimes. Even now, when Kota women see some stranger approaching,

they run away and hide within their houses. They are clad in filthily dirty clothes, tattered and torn, and frequently their clothes do not reach even to the knees. The men wear more or less the same clothes as the Todas. The *putkuli*, or toga-like cloak of the Todas, is called by the Kotars *vevad*; the *tharp* (waist cloth) is called *mund*, and the *Konu* or *langooty*, is known in Kota language as *kosal* or *jalladam*.

Both men and women are wearing ornaments, which are usually made by the Kotars themselves. They wear silver rings (*madaram*) on the third or fourth finger of the right hand. Men are also wearing ear-rings, which are sometimes of gold and set with pearls. On the second or first toe of each foot, Kota women usually wear some rings made of bell metal, which they call *kakoji*. They wear also copper wristlets, *tebugan*, on the right wrist, and bell metal wristlets, *vodshalle*, on the left wrist; and also adorn themselves with red and black beaded necklaces, *koiavila* and *karg*, which they purchase from the plains.

HABITS AND MODE OF LIFE.

When a Badaga meets a Toda, he places his hand on the head of the latter to salute him. This familiarity is not permitted to the Kotar, who must raise his hands to his face and salute him from a distance. The Badagas, who use the Kotars for their festivals, do not allow them to approach their temples. For the Kotars are considered to be unclean.

They are unclean in fact in their food. They are great flesh eaters, and do not bother about the quality of the flesh; even now they are eating carrion, and we can see them sometimes carrying dead buffaloes which have died of disease and eating their flesh with delight. It is curious enough that this kind of food seems to agree with them. They are a sturdy set of people, very active, and show more energy and muscle than the other tribes.

The Kotars are the artisans among the Hill tribes of the Nilgiris. Until the coming to the Hills of the Europeans and the Tamilians of the plains, they were the only ones to practise any industry at all. They work in gold and silver, are blacksmiths and carpenters, rope-makers and tanners, potters and musicians. In this last capacity, they are playing at Toda and Badaga funerals. On the whole, they make a good livelihood, as their music and dancing are indispensable at feasts and are ordinarily well rewarded. The Kotars play a kind of clarionet, which they call *kola ;* they have a drum, *pare,* which they beat with the hands, and a sort of tambourine, *tapate,* beaten by two sticks. They play also the *buguri,* or flute of the Todas, and a kind of bugle or horn, which they get from the plains.

The women make baskets, and also rude clay pots ; they use a kind of black clay found in swamps for making the pots on a wheel. The potter's wheel is a disc of wood or of dry mud, with a blunt iron point on which it revolves in a socket, which is merely a hole in a stone fixed permanently in the ground, in front of the houses. The Todas are using these earthen pots for cooking purposes and in their dairy work ; but not for their sacred dairy.

The Kotars are also agriculturists, and raise the same crops as the Badagas, on the best lands close to their villages. They raise crops of bearded wheat, barley, potatoes, samai, onions, etc. They keep also herds of cattle, but usually do not drink the milk, except when it is presented to them by a *pujari,* or in a village different from their own.

They are moreover paid in kind by the Badagas, Irulars and Kurumbars, for the services they render them. The Todas pay them with the hides of dead buffaloes and with ghee.

They used to drink a lot and were very gay on market days ; but nowadays, they do not appear to be addicted to drink when they come to the town. They just

come to the market to purchase iron (*hibbi* in Kota), with which they make their implements, good sickles (*kanaket*), hooks (*mava*), hammers (*matige* or *tabita*), mamooties (*kudai*) and hoes (*kala kudai*), and even good axes (*madat*) for chopping wood, which they sell mostly to the Badagas.

To make all these instruments, they use rather primitive implements which they prepare themselves. They use bellows (*tithi*) in their forges, bellows mouthpieces (*mork*) made of clay, pokers (*shedigol*) and pincers (*kodikilla* or *kaikilla*) ; formerly they used a piece of iron fixed in a wooden block, as a kind of anvil, but now they know the use of the modern anvil and many of them have it in their forges.

THEIR VILLAGES.

The Kotars have seven villages in the Nilgiris District, six on the plateau proper and one down on the slopes, close to Gudalur. All these villages are named *Kotagiri*, which is the Badaga name for the Kotar villages, meaning literally : Kota hill. The name in Kota language for their villages is: *Kakal*. Each village has however its proper names, which differ in Badaga and Toda languages.

Melkotagiri (or Perangada), called Melkokal by the Todas, is the well-known Kotagiri, the hill station situated on the north-eastern crest of the plateau, and overlooking the plains of Coimbatore. The name Perangada comes from Peranganad, one of the four old divisions of the Nilgiris, which derives its name from the god Rangaswamy, worshipped by the Badagas and Irulars on the peak of that name. When the European settlement was established at Kotagiri, the land of the Kotars was purchased by the Government, and a new village was built for the Kotars about two miles from the place. The former village of the Kotars was on the maidan, in the centre of the town, and their temple has been kept as it was at the time.

Kil Kotagiri is another village of theirs, called also Kinnada, and in Toda, Kilkokal. It is situated on the lower eastern slope of the Hills, about seven miles north-east of Kotagiri.

Kolimalai[1] Kotagiri is in Mekanad, about three miles west of Ketti.

In the Kundas, Kunda Kotagiri is about two miles from Kilkunda, as the crow flies, on the west of it, and close to Manjur. It was formerly called also Menada, and Merkokal by the Todas.

Next, there are two villages of Kotars in Todanad, north-west of the plateau, near Sholur, beyond Dunsandle Estate. These villages are Trichigidi or Tirichigad, and Padugula, also called Kuruvoje, and by the Todas Kuruguli.

Finally, the settlement near Gudalur is called Kalagasa, or Kallgodi.

Some of their villages, as the one at Kolimalai, are kept rather neat ; but on the whole, their dwellings seem rather dirty and very poor. Dr. Shortt thus described their villages :

> They form large communities, each village containing from thirty to sixty or more huts, of tolerable size, built of mud walls, and covered with the usual thatch grass, somewhat after the style of native huts in the plains ; but the arrangement of the dwellings is far from being neat or prepossessing in some villages. The floors are well raised from two to three feet above the soil, with eaves or a short verandah in front, and a pial or seat on either side of the door, under the eaves, on which the people squat themselves when idle. The size of the doors giving entrance to their huts measures 46 x 26 inches.

Nowadays, they are modernizing themselves to some extent, and several of their houses are big halls, covered with Calicut tiles, where several families live together. The pillars of some of their verandahs are of stone, and some are even sculptured, as well as the door posts, with

[1] Hill Ranges of Southern India. I. p. 55.

carving executed by woodcutters from the plains. One of the forges at Kotagiri has pillars of stone sculptured with fishes, lotuses and flowers. The outside walls are sometimes white-washed and painted with several designs in ochre and red colour.

The villages consist of detached huts, and also of huts distributed in streets. Each settlement should consist of three streets or *Keris*. At Kotagiri, these three streets are named: Kilkeri (lower street), Nadukeri (central street), and Melkeri (upper street). At Sholur however, there are four Keris, called: Kilkeri, Korakeri (other street), Amreri (near street), and Akkeri (that street). This division into Keris is important among them as instituting a kind of relationship. People of the same Keri cannot inter-marry. At Sholur, Amreri and Kilkeri people have to seek partners in Korakeri and Akkeri, and vice-versa, and thus divide themselves into two exogamous groups. Usually the three Keris exist in the village. A Kilkeri man may marry a Nadukeri or Melkeri wife, but not a Kilkeri woman, who is considered to be too closely related to him.

THEIR TEMPLES.

In every village there are two temples, dedicated to Kamataraya and Kalikai, which are their names for Siva and Parvati.

"Some rude image of wood or stone," writes Dr. Shortt[1], "a rock or tree in a secluded locality, frequently forms the Kota's object of worship, to which sacrificial offerings are made; but the recognised place of worship in each village consists of a large square of ground, walled round with loose stones, three feet high, and containing in its centre two pent-shaped sheds of thatch, open before and behind, and on the posts (of stone) that support them some rude circles and other figures are drawn. No image of any sort is visible here."

[1] Tribes of the Neilgherries, 1868.

At the annual ceremony, the two gods are represented by two thin plates of silver, attached to the upright posts of the temples. The Kotars go to these temples at the full moon to worship the gods. They worship also Magali and Mariamma against cholera and small-pox. At Gudalur, they keep also the Malabar Onam festival.

At Kolimalai, there are three temples, two dedicated to Kamataraya, and one to Kalikai, or Kahasamma, his wife.

One of the two temples at Padugula or Kuruguli (Sholurkokal) is in the form of a Toda *Palthchi* or ordinary temple of the Todas, built in the same oval pent-shaped kind of construction as their ordinary dwellings, but a little bigger. This *Palthchi* is dedicated to Urupal, who is the same as Kamataraya, according to the Kotars. The other temple is dedicated to Kamataraya, and there is none to Kalikai in the village.

The Kotars have two kinds of priests, belonging to their own tribe. One is called *Devadi* or *Terkaran,* the other is the *Munthakannan* or *Pujari.* Both of them are family men and work at their forges or in the fields when they are not occupied with temple duties ; but they are not allowed to work for others. They do not live in the temple. At the time of the feasts, they cook food before the temple and distribute it to the people. In the *Palthchi* temple at Sholur, however, the *Pujari* boils rice in the temple at the sowing and reaping seasons, and distributes it to all the heads of families in the village. Both the priests are forbidden to attend Toda or Badaga funerals, under pain of pollution, and at the time of the annual feast, they are not allowed to live with their wives. The *Devadi* seems sometimes to be possesed by the god, especially when consulted at the time of appointment of a new *Pujari.* Both of them participate in the seed sowing and reaping ceremonies ; they make the first salute to the corpse at a Kota funeral.

Religious Customs.

The principal feast of the Kotars is the annual feast of Kamataraya, which is celebrated in January, beginning on the first Monday after the January new moon and lasting about twelve days, during which the Kotars clean and decorate the temples with flowers, light a fire in the temple and bring it to the principal street of the village, where it is kept during the whole of the feast. They eat, feast and dance to the accompaniment of the Kota instruments described above. It is said that much indecent dancing takes place during this feast between men and women. In his book *Reise nach Sud-Indien*, published in 1894, Dr. Emil Schmidt thus describes the dancing at which he was present :

> When I was at Kotagiri the Kotas celebrated the big festival in honour of their principal god. The feast lasted twelve days ; every evening homage was paid to the god, and dancing went on round a fire which was kept burning near the temple during the feast. On the last evening, women, as well as men, took their part in the dance. The weird music, penetrating to my house, attracted me to the village. At the end of the street abutting the back of the temple, a big fire was kept up by putting on continually large bundles of brushwood. The musicians stood close to the flames, on one side of the fire, with their musical instruments, two drums, a tambourine, beaten by blows on the back, a cymbal made of brass, beaten with a stick, and two pipes resembling oboes. The same monotonous tune was repeated again and again by the two last ones in rapid four-eight time and accompanied by the other instruments. When I arrived, about forty Kotars, young and old, were dancing near the fire in a semi-circle, going first to one side then to the other, raising their hands, bending their knees, and making fantastic steps with their feet. The whole circle moved slowly forwards, and now and then one or the other of the dancers shouted something that sounded like Hau ! and, at the end of the dance, there was a general shout. Several Kotars of both sexes were seated around the circle, some on the heaps of stone close to the temple. Many Badagas of good standing who had been specially invited to the feast, sat down on a raised floor near the back wall of the temple round a small fire. After the

dance, the dancers dispersed. The drummers kept their instruments, which had become damp and lax on account of the moist evening breeze, so close to the flames that I thought they would get burnt. The music soon began a new tune ; first the oboes, and then, the other instruments, as soon as they had understood the proper movement. The tune was not the same as before, but its two movements were repeated without stop or change. Women as well as men, took part in this dance ; they were grouped in a semi-circle, and the men completed the circle. The men danced wildly and irregularly. Coming slowly forward with the whole circle, each dancer turned from right to left and from left to right ; after every turn, they were facing the fire. The women were dancing with more accuracy and more skill than the men. On beginning the dance, they first bent themselves towards the fire, and then made half turns, left and right, with regular and artistic steps. In their appearance there was a mixture of pleasure and shyness. The dancers were not wearing any special costume ; the women, however, nearly all old and ugly, wore ornaments in the ears and nose, and on the neck, arms and legs. Only women took part in the third dance, which was played again in four-eight time. This was the most artistic of all ; its slow movements had been well rehearsed previously. They stepped radially to and fro, turned forwards and backwards, etc., with seriousness and solemn dignity.

The Kotars, having much to do with the Todas, have borrowed from them many of their funeral rites. They burn the body with some articles belonging to the dead person, and collect the bones in a pot which is buried near the burning place. The skull is preserved for the dry funeral, as with the Todas. But there is a special custom among the Kotars. A *Teru,* or scaffolding hung with clothes is erected before the dead man's house. The corpse is laid on a cot and placed under the *Teru.* All the relations assemble and salute the body, the elder putting their foreheads to the dead man's forehead, the younger to his feet. After dancing round the corpse for some hours they remove the *Teru* and carry the corpse to the burning place (in Kota, *Due*).

This custom of the *Teru* or Procession Car, has been adopted also by the Badagas.

TRADITIONS.

The Kotars have no traditions of their own. Koten, their eponym, is said by the Todas to be one of their ancestors, who brought up the Kotars from the plains. J. W. Breeks, in his book *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris,* published in London in 1873, narrates a story he heard from the Todas. He says that there were three Toda brothers, Koten, Tekudi and Elna. Koten's wife blamed her husband for not possessing any Kotagiri or Tiriari (sacred village of the Todas). He went to his brothers to complain. Tekudi gave him a Tiriari bell and some buffaloes from the Muttanad Tiriari (on the road to Kalhatti, the so-called Toda cathedral) ; Elna gave him a Kota man and woman. With these, Koten went to the Kundas, where he established a Tiriari and Palals (priests), and he placed the Kotars at the Kunda Kotagiri, called by the Todas, Merkokal. (Mer is the name for Kundas in Toda language.)

Koten and his wife Terkosh were transformed later on into two hills, which are known by the names of Koten and Terkosh, on the Sisapara side of the Hills. Todas and Kurumbars pay occasional visits to these hills, and the Todas are said to sing the song about Koten when they see these two hills.

From this story, it seems that the Kotars were already on the Hills before the establishment of the Kunda Kotagiri. Elna, who gave the Kotars to Koten, was living at Muttanad. There are no Kotars in the immediate vicinity. But there is a settlement at Sholur which, in straight line, is not very far. At Padugula, as we have seen, there is a temple in the shape of the Toda temple ; and it seems likely that, owing to their association with the Todas, this is the first Kotar settlement on the Hills. The Todas, being in need of their services, called them to the Hills as soon as they came, and bargained with them, as it is said of Koten : "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." The

Kotars' claim to dead buffaloes formed part of their agreement with the Todas.

The Kotars came to the Hills after the Todas. But the Todas themselves are not, strictly speaking, the first inhabitants of the Hills. They claim as their own several of the cairns, such as Seven Cairn Hill, but say that the others were built by different races, before their coming.

I suspect the Kotars to have come to the Nilgiris about the same time as the Todas. Perhaps they were associated with them already in the plains. As the original place of the Todas is still a mystery, it is also difficult to decide about the origin of the Kotars. In the north of Mysore, near Harihar, there are workers in metals called also Kotars. They worship also Kama and Kalima. Is there any connection between them and our Kotars of the Nilgiris ? As the language of the Kotars is a mixture of Tamil and Kanarese, it may be that they came originally from the Kannada country. I am not in a position to decide the question actually.

In conclusion, I give here a list of several proper names in use among the Kotars, some of which seem to be peculiar to them.

Male names: *Kambata* (the god), *Kose, Mosale* (crocodile), *Kounda, Jogi, Mala.*

Female names: *Niji, Puyi, Teinti, Kempi, Tegi, Madi, Verkarji.*

Place Names of Agricultural Regions or Marutham

R. P. SETHUPILLAI, B.A., B.L.

The people of *Tamil-Akam,* a region of great fertility and natural facilities for irrigation, have devoted themselves to the pursuit of agriculture from time immemorial. They reclaimed the lands on river-banks and developed them into fertile fields. They realised the truth that the river nourishes the field with its silt-laden water, just as a mother nurses her darling infant with her breast-milk, and thus came to develop an attachment to the rivers which they held in great veneration. The river Ka: viri was glorified as the *Ponni,* the golden damoiselle, or the Goddess of all prosperity. The river Vaikai was described as the tendril-waisted damsel that never fails. In short, according to the Tamils, rivers are the throbbing life-arteries of a country.

Villages sprang up on river-banks and grew apace; and the people prospered. This gave rise to the time-honoured saying in Tamil that a " Village without a river is devoid of beauty ". The ancient cities and seaports of great renown were built on river-banks and estuaries. The present Woriyur (Utaiyu: r of Sangam literature) Tiru-chirappalli enjoyed at one time the pride of place as the capital city of the Chola kings. It lies on the southern bank of the Ka: viri. The famous city of Pat: t: inam—the city *par excellence*—which served as the gate-way of Chola Nad stood at the mouth of the Ka: viri. This city was honoured with the significant names of Puka: r or river-mouth city and Ka: virippu: mpatt: t: inam—the city beautiful on the Ka: viri. In the same way the city of Madurai, the capital of the Pandya kings was situated on the banks

of the Vaikai. And Kotkai the maritime capital of the Pandyas, flourished, at the mouth of the other great river of the Pandya country, the *Porunai* (the present Ta:mira-paran:i). It will thus be seen that rivers contributed mainly to the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the ancient Tamil country.

It is true that Tamil Nad cannot boast of large rivers like the Gangai (Ganges) and the Godavari. And yet the Tamils felt legitimate pride on their achievements in utilizing the waters of their small rivers to maximum capacity. Their appreciation of the great utility of river-water is evidenced by the suggestive names they gave to rivers. Pa:l-a:tu (milk-river), is the name of the river flowing through the Thondai Nad, the modern Chingleput District. This river depends for its water mainly on subterraneous springs; and it is seldom in spate. Another river in the droughty Ramanathapuram District—Se:thu Na:t:u—bears the sweet name of The:n-a:tu, the honey-river. The Lord of Kunta-k-kudi, situated near the The:n-a:tu is called The:n-a:ttu-nha:yakar or the Lord of the honey-river. The waters of this river are utilized to the last drop for irrigation. Even as the Thondai Nad can boast of its river of milk and Pandya Nad of its river of honey, the Chera Nad can boast of its Nhey-ya:tu, the river of clarified butter. A village situated on its bank has been named Nhey-ya:ttang-karai.

A rivulet in Tirunelveli District has been named Karun:ai-a:tu, the river of compassion, in appreciation of its beneficence to the people living in the locality. And another river flowing by the side of Virudachalam in South Arcot is called Man:i-muth-tha:tu, the river of rubies and pearls.

It is significant that the names of some of these rivers are borne by certain villages and towns flourishing on their banks. Thiru-v-ai-a:tu, the sacred five rivers, is the name of a village in Chola Nad, regarded as a sacred spot from

ancient times. The place bears this name presumably because it lies in the midst of the fertile tracts fed by five branches of the Ka:viri. The Sanskrit name of this place is *Panchanatham.*

There is a river Ce:-y-a:tu by name which flows through the Thondai Nad. A village on its bank also bears the same name. At:ai-y-a:tu is a river flowing through the city of Chennai (Madras). It takes its rise in the Cemparam-pa:kkam tank in Chingleput District and flows through Madras into the Bay of Bengal. The name of this river has been given to a settlement on its margin.

The ancient names of certain rivers, which have become obsolete in modern times, can be inferred from the name of places situated on their banks. The Cittatu or Ciththira:-nhathi which rises on the Kutta:lam Hills, is joined in its course by a small tributary. This tributary bears in Puranic legends the name of Ko:than:t:ara:ma nhathi. According to legend, Rama who was spending part of his exile in this region would appear to have bored the ground with his Ko:than:t:am (bow) to obtain drinking water to quench the thirst of Sita. The water which gushed forth is said to have formed a river which was hence named after the bow. The original name of this rivulet was Kayath-th-a:tu. It has its source in an artesian spring, yielding a copious supply which overflows and runs as a rivulet. It was natural therefore to call the river Kayath-thatu (*Kayam*-deep spring). Rivers in the South have their source generally on mountain tops. Kayath-th-a:tu however, is an exception. Although the river has lost its original name, it is recalled by the township on its bank which bears the name of Kayath-th-a:tu.

A settlement springing up on the margin of a river is generally called *A:ttu:r*, a river-side place. Many villages bear this name in Tamil Nad. In Salem District, A:ttu:r is the name not only of a village but also of a taluk of which

it is the head-quarters. Again A:ttang-karai, river-bank, is the name of a place in Ramnad District. Besides, there is A:ttu-p-pa:kkam in Tanjore District, A:ttu-k-kuticci in Trichinopoly District, and A:ttu-k-kuppam in North Arcot District.

The place where people get access to river-water is known as *thutai.* A village lying close to such ghats takes the suffix *thutai* in its name. The natural charm of these bathing ghats is indicated by the names given to them. In the luxuriant groves on either side of the Ka:viri, peacocks spread out their plumes and monkeys gather, jump and prance. A bathing ghat noted for the dance of peacocks came to be known as Mayil-a:t:u-thutai, the dancing-ghat of peacocks. And the ghat where monkeys frisk about came to be called Kurangk-a:t:u-thutai, playing-ghat of monkeys. The former place-name has now been changed into Mayavaram *. There are two places known as Kurangk-a:t:u-thutai, one on either bank of the Ka:viri. One of these places is now known simply as A:t:u-thutai, but the other retains its full name.

Besides these places, there are on the Ka:viri several sacred spots like Kat:ampa-nh-thutai, ma:-nh-thutai (ma:-mango tree), both of which have been honoured by *The:va:ra* hymns. And on the Porunai river, we have Pu:nh-thutai (now called Cinhthu-pu:nh-thutai) the flower-ghat, and Kutukku-th-thutai (*Kutukku*-narrow).

An islet in a river is known as *Rangam* in Sanskrit and as *Thuruththi* in classical Tamil. There is a picturesque islet in the Ka:viri close to Tiruchirappalli. The Vaishnava Saints have composed hymns in praise of the presiding deity of this place. In their sacred poems, this islet is called *Thiruvarangam.* The original name of Kuttalam in Tanjore district, was Tiru-th-thuruththi. The Saiva hymnist, Thiru-na:vuk-k-arasar has sung about this Thuruththi in exquisite language ;

* Since altered to Mayuram.

I, a servant of God, behold the Lord of Thuruththi, who reposes on the bosom of the Ponni, which carries in its flood a cargo of flowers.

Inscriptions refer to this place as "the islet in the clasp of heaving waters". Another islet in the Tamil country is Tiru-pu: nh-thuruththi, the sacred islet of lovely flowers.

The ancient Tamils held in high veneration the confluence of rivers, treating it as a sacred spot. It was generally called a Ku: t: al or union. The place in Thondai Nad where the Pa: l-a: tu, the Ce: ya: tu and the Kampai-a: tu mingle their waters, is known as Tiru-muk-ku: t: al, the holy junction of three rivers. Similarly, the meeting place of the Porunai, the Citta: tu and the Ko: than: t: ara: ma-nhathi was known as Muk-ku: t: al. This is the spot celebrated in the pastoral play called Muk-ku: t: al Pal: l: u depicting the life of the peasantry. The place in Chola Nad where the Ket: ilam and the Uppan-a: tu unite has been called *Ku: t: al-U: r*, the place of union. And Ku: t: alai-a: ttu: r in South Arcot is situated at the junction of the Vel: l: -a: tu, the white river and the Muth-th-a: tu, the pearl river. This scared place has been honoured by the hymns of *The: va: ram.*

The ancient Tamils built dams across rivers, diverted the water through channels and stored it in lakes and tanks. Naturally villages came into existence near these dams. The Tamil word for dam is *An: ai* or *An: ai-k-kat: t: u* (anicut). In South Arcot District, there is a place called Karat: i-an: ai, the bear dam. Kan: -an: ai, the eye-dam in Ramnad District and Vel: l: i-an: ai, the silver dam in Trichinopolly District are other place names having this termination.

Villages also spring up near irrigation channels which are called *Ka:l*, a contraction of the word Ka:lva:y. Vel: l: a-k-ka: l, the flood-channel and Pal: l: a-k-ka: l, the low channel are place-names in Tirunelveli District. Thalai-k-ka: l, the head-channel is a village in Ramanatha-

puram District Man:lal-ka:l, the sandy channel in Tiruchinappalli District, Kuval:ai-k-ka:l, the lily channel in Tanjore District, and Ma:ng-ka:l, the mango-channel in North Arcot District. The word Ka:l-va:y of which Ka:l is a contraction, is itself the name of a place in Tirunelveli District.

A natural brook is called O:t:ai in Tamil. A village springing up near such a brook often takes O:t:ai as a suffix in its name. We have thus Mayil-O:t:ai, the peacock brook in Tirunelveli District, Pa:l-O:t:ai, the milk brook in Ramanathapuram District and Cemp-O:t:ai the copper stream in Tanjore District.

A sluice constructed on a channel-bank or tank-bund is called *Mat:ai.* Water is let into the field through the sluice. In the vicinity of such sluices, villages have grown up. Paththal-mat:ai, commonly known as Paththa-mat:ai and Pa:la:mat:ai in Tirunelveli District, and Me:la-mat:ai in Madurai District are such places.

Storage of water impounded for irrigation fields is called *E:ri,* lake. Numerous villages have sprung up in the neighbourhood of lakes in the Tamil country. Some of the place-names associated with lakes perpetuate the beneficence of the ancient kings of Tamil Nad. Pallavan-e:ri, now corrupted into Palamane:r in Chittoor District was constructed by a Pallava King. Then-ne:ri in Thondai Nadu is yet another village which came into existence by the side of a lake. The lake was dug by a prince named Thirayan, the prince of the waves. Thirayan-e:ri has been corrupted into Then-ne:ri. There are many villages bearing the name of Ma:tan-e:ri the lake of *Ma:tan,* in Tirunelveli District. The word *Ma:tan* denotes the Pandya King. A lake was constructed in Kongu Nad by a king named Vi:ra-Pa:n:t:iyan. The village which sprang up by the side of this lake came to be called Vi:ra-pa:n:t:iya-p-pe:r-e:ri, the great lake of Vi:ra-Pa:n:t:iyan. The present name of this place is simply E:ri.

Names of deities are sometimes associated with lakes. A:tumukan-e:ri near Tiruchendur in Tirunelveli District is named after Lord A:tumukan, the six-faced God of the Tamils. Yet another lake, which owes its origin to a king of Malayalam (Travancore) has been called Pathmana:pan-e:ri, the lake of Lord Pathmana:pan. The village which came into existence near this lake now bears the corrupted name of Pathuman-e:ri.

There are a few place-names having the suffix *pe:ri*. This suffix is seen in Ci:vala-P-pe:ri, Kan:t:iya-p-pe:ri, Alangka:ra-p-pe:ri, Vicuvanha:tha-p-pe:ri in Tirunelveli District. *Pe:ri* is a corruption of *Pe:r-e:ri* meaning a large lake. Evidence in support of this usage is available in inscriptions. A big lake built by the King Mathura:nhthakan was known as Mathura:nhthaka-pe:r-e:ri and another by the King Sunhthara-Co:l-an in Arcot as Sunhthara-Co:l-a-p-pe:re:ri. The original name of Ci:valap-p-e:ri in Tirunelveli District, was Muk-ku:t:al. This name signifying the confluence of three rivers, was appropriate for the village situated near it. In later times, the Pandya king Sri Vallapa constructed a big lake in the village and called it Sri Vallapa-pe:r-e:ri. This name has now been corrupted into Ci:calap-pe:ri. There is an old tradition that a Kannada chief constructed a dam across the river Tha:miraparan:i, diverted its water through irrigation channels and reclaimed an extensive tract in Tirunelveli District. This dam which is the third on the river is known to this day as the Kannadian dam. The same chieftain constructed also a large lake near the town of Tirunelveli and gave it the name of Kannat:iya-p-pe:re:ri. In course of time, this lake-name became the name of the village around it, and was corrupted as Kan:t:iya-p-pe:r-e:ri. Alangka:ra-p-pere:ri meaning the lovely lake is the name of yet another village. The natural scenery of the surroundings and the large sheet of water with ripples waving on its bosom are probably suggested by the name.

Ko: t: t: akam is another name for a large lake ; and there is many a Ko: t: t: akam in the Ka: viri basin. Places like Puthu-k-ko: t: t: akam, the new lake and Ma: nang-ka: ththa: n-ko: t: t: akam are instances of lake-names becoming place-names.

Next to the lake, *Kul: am,* the tank, serves the needs of agriculture. Place-names ending with *Kul:am* are numerous. Some of the names given to tanks indicate the colour of their water or the extent of the water-spread. Karung-kul: am, the black tank in Tirunelveli District and Seng-kul: am, the red tank in Tiruchirappally District indicate the colour of the tank-water. Periya-kul: am, the big tank in the Madura District is a township that has come into existence in the vicinity of a big tank. Pu: ng-kul: am, the flower tank in Tanjore District and Pudu-k-kul: am, the new tank in South Arcot District are indicative of the nature of the respective tanks.

Some of the great tanks constructed by the Tamil kings and chieftains came to be glorified as *Camuththiram* (Ocean), and Va: rithi (immense sheet of water). A tank constructed by the Chola king Raja Raja, is mentioned in an inscription as Ch: ol-a-Camuththiram, the ocean of the Chola King. Ampa-camuththiram is the name of a place in Tirunelveli District. The original name of it was Il: ang-ko-kut: i. The lake which came into existence in the village was named Ampal: -camuththiram, the ocean of the lady. This name has been corrupted into Ampa: camuththiram. There is evidence in inscriptions to show that tanks originally called *E:ri* (lake), were in later times dignified as camuththiram (ocean). The embankment of an old tank in the village of Then-ne'ri, was breached at one time by heavy rains, and an inscription says that one Tha: tha: ca: ri who repaired the bund, renamed this lake after himself as Tha: tha: -camuththiram.

Further, the words *E:nhthal* and *Tha:ngkal* indicating ponds or pools occur in place-names. Places like Il: a-v-

aracan-e:nhthal, the prince's pool and Cempian-e:nhthal, Chola's pool are names associated with the rulers of the land. Similarly A:lanh-tha:ngkal, the banyan pool in North Arcot District and Val:avan-tha:ngkal the Chola pool in Chinglepet District may be cited as examples of *Tha:ngkal.*

The words *A:vi* and *Va:vi* also signify a pool. They occur occasionally in a few place-names. Nhi:r-a:vi in Ramanathapuram District and Kal-la:vi in Salem District are place-names having the termination *A:vi,* and places like Ko:t:al-va:vi in Madurai District have the suffix *Va:vi* in their names.

A deep pool is known as *Mat:u.* There are place-names having this termination. Muthalai-mat:u, the crocodile pool in Tanjore District, A:nai-mat:u, the elephant pool in South Arcot District, Kal-mat:u, the rock pool in Tirunelveli District and Cem-mat:u, the red pool in Salem District belong to this category. The word *Ilanjci* also denotes a pool. There is a place known as Ilanjci near Tenkasi in Tirunelveli District. This village is glorified as Pon-n-ilanjci, the golden pool in the celebrated Tamil drama known as Kutta:la-k-kutavanjci.

A natural pool is called *Poykai.* Poykaiya:r is the name of an eminent poet, and he is said to have been born in a place known as Poykai. Again Poykai A:l-va:r is the name of one of the three great saints of the Vaishnava cult, who are known as the first A:l-va:rs. According to tradition, he was born in a lotus-pool near a temple of Thiruma:l (Vishnu) in Ka:njcipuram. There is, besides, another place known as Poykai in North Arcot District. It will thus be seen that the word *Poykai* has become a place-name.

A pool containing drinking water for the village is known as *U:run:i,* (*Ur*: village *Un*: consume). There are several places going by the name of *U:run:i.* For instance,

Pe:r-u:run:i the great pool, in Tirunelveli District, Mayil-U:run:i, the peacock pool in Ramanathapuram District, and Purac-U:run:i, the Portia pool in Tanjore District.

Cetu is a literary word for tank. The hamlet of Ra:yalu-ceruvu, the King's tank, lies in Chittoor District. It is said that this lake was constructed by Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar with the object of developing agriculture in that area, and was therefore called after him as Ra:yar-cetu. In ancient times, this place lay on the highway from Kanchipuram to Tirupathi and was therefore a centre of great attraction. The large lake constructed by Krishnadeva Raya can still be seen in the village. It has been formed by a broad embankment half a mile in length connecting two high hills.

Some of the ponds and pools of the Tamil country are supplied with water from subterranean springs. The common name for a spring is *U:ttu.* There are a few place-names having this word as the suffix. Ta:l-ai-y-u:ttu the cactus spring in Tirunelveli District, Aththi-y-u:ttu, the fig spring in Ramanathapuram District, Kan:-n:-u:ttu, the eye spring in Tiruchirapalli District and Ma:-v-u:ttu, the mango spring in Salem District are instances of villages named after the neighbouring springs.

In the same way wells also have given rise to place-names. Thiru-v-alli-k-ke:n:i, the sacred lotus well (modern Triplicane in the city of Madras), Na:rai-k-kin:atu, the crane well in Tirunelveli District, can be cited as instances of such place-names.

There are numerous villages, the names of which emphasise the characteristic features of their soil. Na(l)-n-nilam is the name of a village in Tanjore District. The prefix *Nal* (which means good) is probably indicative of the fertility of the soil.

The word *Pulam* also denotes land. Ta:marai-p-pulam, the lotus-field, Karuva-p-pulam the cassia-field and Cet:t:i-

p-pulam, the Chetty field are place-names in Tanjore District.

Pattu in Tamil means land under cultivation. It has been corrupted into *paththu* in the South and into *Pat:t:u* in the North. A village comprising lands endowed to a temple is generally called *Koyil-pattu,* temple-lands. A village near Ramanathapuram is known as Perung-karun: ai-pattu the field of great mercy. The name Chingleput is a corruption of the beautiful name Ceng-kal-unhi:r-p-pattu, the field of red lily. A village in Chittoor District which originally bore the name of Pu:ththalai-p-pattu the field of flowers, now passes as Pu:thala-p-pat:t'u. A place in North Arcot District was originally called Thel:l:a:ttu-p-pattu. In modern times, however, this name has been corrupted into Thel:l:a:ra:p-pat:t:u.

The word *Pan:n:ai* also denotes a field. Cenhthila:n-pan:n:ai, the field of the Lord Muruka of Tiruchendur, is the name of a village in Tirunelveli District. There is also a village bearing the name E:l-a:yiram-pan:n:ai, seven thousand fields at a distance of eight miles south-west of Sattur in Ramanathapuram District.

A classical word for the field is *Pal-anam.* Tiru-p-pal-anam is the name of a place in the Tanjore District, sanctified by *Theva:ra* hymns. It is now known as Thiru-p-payan:am (*payan:am* means journey.) *Ḳal-ani* is yet another word for the field. It occurs in place-names like Then-kal-ani, the Southern field and Puthu-k-kal-ani, the new field in Arcot District and Ka:-k-kal-ani, the field of groves in Tanjore District.

The word *Vayal,* also meaning a field can be seen in place-names like Puthu-vayal, the new field, Nhet:u vayal, the long field and the like. It is usual in the South to call any productive land, a *Vil:ai..* Va:kai-vil:ai, the land of rain-trees and Thicaiyanvil:ai are names of villages in Tirunelveli District.

Ve:li and *Ka:n:i* are words denoting the extent of land. They also occur in place-names. It is evident that names of villages like Ai-veli the five *Ve:lis* and Onpathu-ve:li, the nine *ve:lis* in Chingleput District rose from the extent of arable land. In the same way, the word *Ka:n:i* finds a place in the names of villages like Muk-ka:n:i, the three Ka:n:is and Cang-ka:n:i. The words *Kutun:i* and *Na:l-i* denoting smaller measures, are also found, though rarely, in certain place-names. There are villages like Co:l-ang-kutun:i and Et:t:u-nha:l-i in Madurai District.

Wet lands of high productive capacity are known as *Nhancey*, and dry lands of scanty yield are known as *Pun-cey*. A place in Tanjore District formerly known as Nhani-pal:l:i is now called Punjcai (corrupt form of punjcey.)

The practice of raising garden crops by baling water from wells is also found in Tamil Nad. Hence we find words denoting garden occuring in some place-names. Pu:nh-tho:t:t:am, the lovely garden, is the name of a village in Tanjore District. Injci-k-kollai, the ginger-garden and Karuppu-k-kil:a:r, the sugarcane-garden are villages in South Arcot District. The words Tho:t:t:am, *Kollai* and *Kil:a:r* are synonyms denoting the garden.

Although the Tamils lived in all the four traditional types of land, they considered *Marutham* as best suited for human habitation. The word *U:r* therefore significantly stands for a settlement in the midst of fertile fields. It is used extensively in combination with the names of trees and animals. Maruthu:r is a village taking the name after the *Maruthu* tree (Red cedar) and Na:val-U:r, after the *Naval* tree (Jambulensis.) Further more, Thengkur, Panai-y-u:r, Pa:cu:r and Kat:ampu:r—all glorified by *The:va:ra* hymns—are denominated in terms of the trees characteristic of the terrain.

The ancient Tamils greatly admired the bravery of the *Puli* (tiger) among the beasts and cherished it in place-

names. Many are the villages which bear the name of this animal. Places like Puli-y-u:r, Pa:thiri-p-puliy-u:r and Eru-k-kaththam-puli-y-u:r are sacred spots mentioned in *Thevaram.* Perum-puli-y-u:r, the place of the big tiger and Kutum-puli-y-u:r, the place of the small tiger, are names of villages in Tiruchirappalli District. The former is now known as Perampalu:r and the latter as Kutumpalu:r. Citu-puliy-u:r, the place of small tiger, is the name of a village in Tanjore District.

The names of birds are associated with certain place-names. The birth-place of Nhamma:l-va:r, the greatest of the Vaishnava Saints, was a small village called Kuru-ku:r in the Tirunelveli District. *Kuruku* means a swan. Mayila:ppur (Mylapore), a suburb of Madras, obviously owes its name to *Mayil,* the peacock. Equally so are Thiruna:rai-u:r, the sacred place of cranes and Ko:l-iyu:r, the village of cockerels, are instances to point. Another interesting place-name is Van:t:a:nam, which means the stork.

The name of places having the suffix *U:r* may be considered under two main divisions, namely *Nhallu:r,* good place and *Puththu:r,* new place. Thiru-ven:n:ai-nallu:r is a village on the bank of the Pen:n:ai-a:tu. This place is sanctified by a temple of Lord Siva, who bestowed his grace on Sunhtharamu:rththi, one of the *The:v:ara* hymnists. It is also the birth-place of Mey Kan:t:a The:-var, the author of a philosophical treatise in Tamil, expounding the cult of Saiva Siddhanta. There is another village called Nhallu:r close to Kumbakonam in Tanjore District. *Periyapura:n:am,* the lives of the Saiva Saints, mentions this Nhallu:r as the place where Amarnhi:thi, one of the sixty three Saiva Saints, attained salvation. Ce:y-nhallu:r, sacred to Lord Muruka the Son-God of the Tamils, situated on the river Man:n:i, is now known as Ce:ngkanu:r. Another Ce:y-nhallu:r in the North Arcot District passes now as Ce:nu:r.

The Tamil kings brought into existence a number of villages with the object of perpetuating their memory, and some of them bear the suffix *Nhallu:r.* Vi:ra-Pa:n:-t:iya Nhallu:r, Ma:na:paran:a Nhallu:r and Cey Thungka Nhallu:r bear the names of Pandya Kings. Some of the villages formed by the great Chola Kings are noticed in inscriptions. Mut:i Kon:t:a Nhallu:r, Anhapa:ya Nhallu:r, Thirunhi:ttu-c-co:l-a Nhallu:r Thiru-th-thon:t:aththokai-Nhallu:r, Civapa:thace:kara Nhallu:r, Kali Kat:inhtha co:l-a Nhallu:r and many other prosperous villages bear the titular names of the Chola Kings.

New settlements are known as Puththu:r, the new village. A sacred place in Pandya Nad, honoured by the hymnists, is known as Thiru-p-puth:thu:r, the sacred new village. On the banks of the river Aricil, a new village sprang up and it was known as Arici-t-karai-p-puththu:r. And the village that grew up on the banks of the river Kat:uva:y was called Kat:uva:y-k-karai-p-puththu:r. Both these villages have been sanctified by the *The:va:ra* hymnists. The Periyapura:n:am says that the Puththu:r to which Sunhtharamurththi proceeded for celebrating his marriage came to be known from that event, as Man:am-vanhtha-puththu:r. A village that was founded by Ko:van, a chieftain, took the name of Ko:van-puththu:r. It is now known as Ko:yam-puththu:r (Coimbatore), the great centre of cotton industry in South India. Srivilliputtur is a place held in great reverence by Vaishnavas.

A Czech Missionary of the 18th Century as Author of a Tamil Grammar

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When occupying himself with the investigation of C. Przikryl's *Principia linguae Brahmanicae*[1], the editor of the *Principia,* Dr. Pavel Poucha, one of the leading Oriental scholars of the Oriental Institute in Prague, has found a fragmentary manuscript of a Tamil grammar by the same Carolus Przikryl S. J. This work of Przikryl has been unknown since neither Prof. V. Lesny who had treated the Ms. of Przikryl's *Principia* in an article[2] nor his predecesors in this matter, Martin Pelzel, the author of a short biographical sketch of Przikryl, and Josef Dobrovsky, mention the existence of this (as far as we know the fifth) work of C. Przikryl at all. Dr. P. Poucha has investigated carefully the Ms., which has been, contrary to the *Principia* (which have been rewritten at the end of the 18th Cent.), preserved only in the original, written in Przikryl's own typical small characters. Only the beginning of a Tamil vocabulary can be found on the 192nd folio of the copy of Przikryl's *Principia,* comprising 48 words in all, 27 of which are translated into Latin.

In the original Ms., the fragment of the Tamil grammar can be found on pp. 29—34 and, partly, on p. 45. This fragment comprises : (a) a list of Tamil characters with their Latin equivalents (pp. 29—31), (b) pronunciation (pp. 32—34), this chapter being, however, unfinished, (c) morphology (*De declinatione nominum*). On that

1 C. Przikryl, Principia linguae Brahmanicae, sign. X C. 35, in the National Museum in Prague.

2 V. Lesny, Principia linguae brahmanicae von Carolus Przikryl, Archiv Orientalni, Vol. VI (1934), No. 1., pp. 50—53.

very page, unfortunately, the fragment comes to an abrupt end and there is not a word more about Tamil in Przikryl's Ms. The fragment of Przikryl's Tamil grammar comprises thus only the three mentioned paragraphs which are, however, unfinished.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to deal with those fragments and to stress their importance in the history of Indology, since they belong to the oldest works dealing with the Tamil language. Carolus Przikryl had been working up in India not only the grammar of the Konkani dialect of Marathi (*Principia linguae Brahmanicae*), but also a grammar of Tamil. According to the view of Dr. P. Poucha who has actually found and discovered this fragment in the National Museum in Prague, this fragmentary Tamil grammar was written between 1755—1762 (when its author left India for good). It must have been composed after its author had made use of some other Tamil grammars, very probably of Beschi's *Grammatica latino-tamulica*, 1738 ,and Walther's *Observationes grammaticae quibus linguae tamulicae idioma vulgare illustratur*, 1739. It is the opinion of Dr. P. Poucha that, since the other Tamil grammars, written until his time, viz., P. Bruno's grammar(1685), P. de la Lane's grammar (1728) and Beschi's other grammar of 1730, have been only in manuscript form, C. Przikryl very probably had been able to take as his model only the two grammars quoted above. It is difficult to guess if he had made use of Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica* which had been published in Halle (?) in 1716.

The present writer has investigated different parts of Przikryl's Ms. in some detail. It seems that the list of 48 Tamil words has been excerpted out of some text (or texts) ; this seems to be indicated by the following considerations : 1. only 26 words are translated into Latin ; 2. some of the words form groups connected according to meaning ; 3. the transcription of some words shows the

author's hesitation and is inconsequent: thus he writes *c:agam* for காகம், cornix, but *cai* for கை, manus; *ac:ham* for அச்சம், metus, further however, *accham, id.* etc.

This list of words has been used as material for the explanation of pronunciation and orthography. It is very interesting to read the description of the cacuminal and retroflex consonants in the light of our experimental phonetic investigation, cf. ட் — . . *pronunciatur inversa retrorsum lingua usage ad interiorem palati* . .ண—*ut n, sed inflecta eodem ut pauli anti dictum modo lingua*; ள—*ut inflexa aliquantum lingua usque ad palati medietatem,* ழ்— *similiter ut* ள *,crassiore sono reflexa omnino ad interiorem palati partem lingua.*[3]

Przikryl treats orthography and pronunciation together in his description, which is considerably condensed, to some extent, however, not quite orderly arranged. Some passages dealing with vowels are very careful indeed, cf. பகல்— *non pronunciatur pagal, sed paguel. dies.eodem modu*; புகழ்— *pugue.laus.* அவன *aven.ille*. . . . And further: " . . . . . .*I breve ante* ற் *adeo leniter pronunciatur, et quodammodo absorbetur quam nod adesset.Sic interminatione verborum* க்கிறது *cradu,* கிறது *gradu.*"

From the paragraph dealing with *sandhi* we may see that Przikryl has distinguished between the colloquial and literary forms of Tamil, cf. p. 33 of the Ms.: . . . .*hujus tamen regulae rarus est usus in lingua vulgari, inviolabilis autem in sublima.*

On p. 45 the Ms. has been continued with a paragraph on the declination of nouns. It is necessary to stress the fact that Przikryl does not simply enumerate the different suffixes of the traditional eight "cases", but that he explains, in detail, the syntactic use of these suffixes. Let

3 Cf. the data obtained after the accomplishment of experimental phonetic investigation in Svarny, Zvelebil: Some Remarks. . . . . Ar Or, Vol. XXIII, 1955, No. 3.

us quote only one typical example: "*ut* மலையைக் குறித்து *intendendo montem, respectu montis; nam* குறித்து gerundium est a verbo குறிக்கிறது intendere. vel 3° similiter per accu. sativum cum gerundio கொண்டு explicate quod gerundium est verbi கொள்ளுகிறது quod etiam significat: assumere quae, phrasis 3 e significat ablativum instrumenti seu medii, quo utimur in latino sermone pro accusativo cum praepositione per : ut தவத்தைக்கொண்டு கையேறினான் per peonitentiam, sive a frumendo poenitentiae medium, aut mediante poenitentia salvus factus est."

With this last example which, by the way, indicates also the nature of some of Przikryl's sources (*salvus factus est!*), the whole fragmentary Ms. of the Tamil grammar is brought to a definite end. Maybe, and let us hope so, that in India itself more of Przikryl's works, and, among them, possibly also some dealing with Tamil, will be found by future research.

We can conclude : the fragment of the Tamil grammar by Carolus Przikryl[4] is based, most probably, upon the study of some older Tamil grammars (most likely on the works of C. J. Beschi and Ch. T. Walther), but it seems, that its author has compared these data with some other material obtained perhaps through the study of some texts or personal contact.

Even if this fragmentary manuscript is, perhaps, not an attempt to compose a new and original Tamil grammar, it is necessary to stress the keen interest of its author in a neo-Indian living language, in Tamil ; this interest has taken a definite and remarkable shape in Przikryl's work on the Konkani dialect of Marathi.

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4 *Carolus Przikryl*, born 7-12-1718 in Prague in 1734 joined the Jesuit Order, since 1784 in India (as Director of the Studies at the Archbishop's Seminary in Goa), later imprisoned in Portugal, since 1768 in Bohemia, died in 1785 as the rector of the Bishop's Seminary in Hradec Kralove.

Tamil Culture—Its Past, Its Present and Its Future with special reference to Ceylon*

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM.

யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழிபோல்
இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணோம்

"Tamil" means "sweetness," and "Culture" has been defined as "sweetness and light." "Tamil" and "Culture," therefore, make a most graceful combination both in Language and in Life. It is this graceful combination that has brought us here this evening.

The Tamil Cultural Society has completed three years since its inception. If it is to be of greater service to the Tamil-speaking peoples, it should be our privilege to welcome to the Society more members from every walk of life. It is by the growth of organised action among the Tamil-speaking population that the Society may hope to realise what it has so elaborately planned. There was never a time in the history of this Island when concerted action was so vital to our existence as it is today. It is the aim of the Tamil Cultural Society to have an Island-wide membership of at least ten thousand people, all united in the furtherance of the cause of Tamil Culture, the Tamil Language, Tamil Literature and the Tamil Arts. This may seem an ambitious aim, but it is not beyond realisation, provided every Tamil-speaking citizen is conscious of his heritage, and of his duty to pass on that heritage to the generations that will succeed him in this Island.

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* An address delivered under the auspices of the Tamil Cultural Society, Colombo on August 2nd, 1955.

WHAT IS CULTURE ?

Culture has been defined as a " way of life," as " sweetness and light ", as " activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling." These brief definitions are sufficient to show the comprehensiveness and the indispensability of culture, for one must have a way of life, and that way of life should be combined with sweetness and light, with activity of thought, and with beauty and humane feeling.

Tamil Culture is nothing else but the Tamil way of life, a pattern of gracious living that has been formed during the centuries of Tamil history. It has been conditioned by the land, the climate, the language, the literature, the religions, the customs, the laws, the food, the games and toys of the Tamil people, by the palmyra palm, the gingelly oil, and the vegetables associated with them. Culture is a most elusive and at the same time an all-embracing term.

THE ANTIQUITY OF TAMIL CULTURE IN CEYLON

Tamil Culture has existed in this Island from time immemorial. All the weight of geological, anthropological, historical, literary and linguistic evidence point to the existence in Ceylon of a people with racial and cultural affinities with the inhabitants of South India.[1]

The *Mahavamsa* itself recognizes the existence of a civilized people living in cities at the time of the landing of Vijaya. The *Mahavamsa* too supposes a pre-Buddhist period in Ceylon when the religion of the people was Hindu. The story of Elara's reign, the statement,

> " When he had thus overpowered thirty-two Damila Kings, Dutthagamini ruled over Lanka in single sovereignty,"

the rule of Tamil kings, the accounts of the Vaitulyan doctrine, and references to " Damiladevi," " the Chola

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1 See Articles by Swami Gnana Prakasar in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. I. (1952) Nos. 1—4.

people," "the further coast" and "the other coast," point to an ancient time when Tamil Culture and Sinhalese Culture existed side by side upon this Island.[2]

The relations of the Sinhalese Kings with Nagadipa, with the Chera, Chola, Pandya Kings of South India their dynastic alliances, their embassies, their treaties, and even their wars and their intrigues, are evidence of a fraternal rivalry that existed between these neighbouring kingdoms. There is a tendency to exaggerate these wars and to portray these cultures as if they were perpetually in conflict. Such a portrayal is one of the dangers of history.[3]

The truth is, that to one well read in Ceylon and South Indian history, these conflicts seem like the internal conflicts of kindred peoples. The wars of the Tamils against the Sinhalese are not any more numerous or hostile than the wars among the Tamil kingdoms themselves.

At the time the Portuguese landed on this Island, there is ample evidence for the honoured place Tamil had at the Court of Kotte and for the Tamil schools that the Portuguese founded in the Western and North Western Provinces.[4]

When printing was introduced into this Island for the first time, the Dutch published books both in the Tamil and Sinhalese tongues. A copy of a Tamil book published in Colombo in 1754 by the Dutch Pastor Bronsveld, refers

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2 W. GEIGER, *The Mahavamsa*, p. 165; pp. 264f., Colombo 1950.

3 H. BUTTERFIELD, *History and Human Relations*, p. 158ff., London, 1951.

4 DE QUEYROZ, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, p. 241, Colombo, 1930; S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, passim, Madura, 1942;

See G. SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon sur zeit des konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers*, 2 Vols.; Leipzig, 1928; and *Die Zeitgenossischen Quellen zur geschichte Portugiesisch—Asiens und seiner nachbarlander* 1538—1552, Leipzig, 1932; M. A. HEDWIG FITZLER, *Os tombos de Ceilao da seccao ultramarina da biblioteca nacional*, Lisbon, 1927; PIERIS-FITZLER, *Ceylon and Portugal*, Leipzig, 1927, fails to mention or translate the Tamil sentences in the letters from the Court of the King of Kotte, though reproducing in a frontispiece plate the Tamil writing which precedes the signature of the Sinhalese king.

in its dedication to the Tamil language spoken within the greater area of this Island. (*Maxima cum hujus insulae parte Tamulice loquentem*).[5]

Robert Knox and the Dutch despatches speak of the Tamil townships and the Tamil-speaking people of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Twin Cultures

The comparative study of the Tamil and Sinhalese languages, of the literatures and grammar in the two languages, of place-names, of the drama, the dance, the architecture, the sculpture peculiar to the two cultures of this Island reveal to what limits they influenced each other. Anthropological surveys have shown the extent to which the common racial characteristics are shared by the populations that speak the two languages, and history testifies to the shifting of populations from one kingdom to another and to the sections of people that have changed one language for the other. The laws, the caste system, the patterns of social structure, reveal very many common elements. For the existence and inter-penetration of these cultures, there is no better evidence than a religious shrine like Kathirgamam held sacred by the Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, located in the southernmost part of Ceylon, and the religious shrines of the Buddhists located in Nainativu, a northernmost outpost of the Island, held sacred also by Hindus.

The existence of two different religions did not always prevent the patronage that kings of one persuasion extended to the religion that was not theirs; did not prevent the patronage and employment of Saivaite Brahmins at the Sinhalese Courts; did not prevent marriage alliances of Sinhalese Kings with Tamil Saivaite Queens; did not prevent the teaching of Tamil along with Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit at the more famous pirivenas as testified by the *Gira Sandesa* (15th century).

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[5] *Catechismus*, Colombo, 1754 (Copy seen in the Museum Library of Djakarta).

There was a time when Buddhism counted many Tamils among its followers, even in Ceylon, and Tamil Buddhist monks contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of Tamil literature and Pali literature. Viharas were established in the Tamil-speaking areas of Ceylon and South India, and Tamil monks came to teach as well as to learn in the Sinhalese kingdoms. It will always remain a source of pride to us that the greatest, if not the only classical epic of Theravada Buddhism exists in the Tamil language. The poetry of *Manimekhalai* (2nd cent. A.D.) has been forgotten by scholars because of its didactic and doctrinal appeal, but it remains one of the finest jewels of Tamil poetry with an abundance of quotable lines, like

> " பாரகமடங்கலும் பசிப்பிணியறுக "
>
> " மாதவர் நோன்பும் மடவார் கற்பும்
> காவலன் காவல் இன்றெனில் இன்றாம் "

The *Virasoliyam*, a compendious Tamil grammar, was compiled in the 11th century by a Tamil Buddhist, Buddhamitrar. The origin of Tamil is attributed in this grammar to Avaloketiswara (Bhodisattva). This grammar seems to have influenced the Sinhalese grammar *Sidatsangarawa*. Among the more famous Tamil Buddhists that visited Ceylon on religious and cultural missions were Sangamitta (4th c.), Buddhadatta Mahathero (5th c.), Vajirabhodhi (7th—8th c.), Anurudha (12th c.), Dharmakirti, author (?) of the *Culawamsa* (13th c.). Dignaga, Dharmapala of Nalanda, Bhodhidharmar of China were three other illustrious Tamil exponents of Buddhism.[6]

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6 On place names, see B. J. PERERA, *Some observations on the study of Sinhalese place names in The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. II (1953) pp. 241—250 ; page 244 :

> "Tamil place names are found mostly along the sea-coast and in the Anuradhapura, Chilaw and Puttalam districts. Though there are no native Tamils living along the sea-coast south of Colombo, the Tamil origin of most of the present inhabitants there is seen from the fairly large number of Tamil place names. The 'ge' names of these people too attest to their Tamil origin. The word *malai* meaning in Tamil 'a mountain or hill' is found in even the central parts of the island. They are come across

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

The Tamil language has been spoken in this Island, it would seem, at least for the last three thousand years. The punchmarked coins of an early era point to connections that Ceylon may have had with Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley civilisation. Tamil poetry composed in Ceylon has been included in the earliest Tamil Anthologies, and the Tamil spoken in Ceylon represents a pre-Pallava period with its ancient morphological and grammatical forms and its repertoire of words considered obsolete for centuries on the neighbouring continent.

A language is always a mirror of a people's genius.[7] The Tamil language has been spoken basically in its present form for the last two thousand years, and it continues even now to be the living language for thirty to forty million people—about thirty million people in India, more than two million people in Ceylon, nearly one million people in Malaya, Vietnam and Indonesia, and many thousands scattered over Fiji, Mauritius, Madagascar, Africa and even Trinidad and the Martinique Islands. Tamil is as much a classical language as Greek, Latin or Sanskrit, with this difference that while her ancient contemporaries have changed beyond recognition or been long regarded as "dead", Tamil continues to be one of the most vigorous of modern languages, and perhaps offers the only example in history of an ancient classical tongue which has survived to this day and yet remains young as it was two thousand years ago.

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in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of plantations and show that the Tamil element in the composition of the Sinhalese is far greater than is usually conceded. Ranmalaya, Kotmale and Gilimale are some of the examples."

I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. K. Nesiah for the above reference. C. E. GODAKUMBURA, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, The Dravidian Element in Sinhalese*, pp. 837—841, Vol. XI; N. S. VENGADASAMY, *Tamil and Buddhism*, (Tamil) Madras, 1950.

[7] A. N. WHITEHEAD, *Aims of Education*, New York, 1951: "Language is the incarnation of the mentality of the race that fashioned it."

The monumental Tamil-English Dictionary by Miron Winslow was commenced in Jaffna by Joseph Knight, assisted by Gabriel Tissera and Rev. Percival (two Ceylonese), and it is in the introduction to this Dictionary that Dr. Winslow has the oft-quoted passage :

> "It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and, in both dialects with its borrowed treasures, more copious than the Latin. In its fullness and power, it more resembles English and German than any other language."

Dr. Slater said, "The Tamil language is extraordinary in its subtlety and sense of logic" ; and W. Taylor observed earlier, "It is one of the most copious, refined and polished languages spoken by man."[8]

Tamil speech as obtaining in Ceylon, and Tamil phonetics as obtaining especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, show a fidelity to the earliest Tamil grammars which the speech of South India does not—a clear indication of the development of Tamil in Ceylon unhampered by the extraneous influences to which South India was subject.

Tamil Literature

Tamil Literature has made certain definite contributions to world thought and letters. Its love poetry and its inclusion of love poetry in its theory of poetics are indications of the humanistic approach to life that is characteristic of Tamil Culture. The love poetry of the Tamils is the product of a people among whom the finest ideals of courtship and wedlock had long been cherished. The ethical poetry of the Tamils has been the wonder of all foreigners who have studied it. The maxims of Thiruvalluvar or the *Tirukkural* is a book of which Dr. Albert Schweitzer has said :

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[8] Quoted in Preface to Winslow's *Tamil-English Dictionary*, Madras, 1862.

> " There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom."[9]

And Dr. Pope observed :

> " I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in store for a people that delight so utterly in compositions thus remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness." [10]

If English be the language of commerce, French the language of diplomacy, Italian the language of love, and German the language of philosophy, then Tamil is the language of devotion. The devotional poetry in Tamil is so great in bulk, and in depth and intensity of emotional fervour, that its continued study has given the language a certain aptitude for the expression of themes pertaining to mysticism and contemplation. The Nature Poetry of the Tamils is again the result of a people who lived intimately with Nature. No people, except perhaps the people of the Pacific Islands, have made so much use of flowers and plants in daily life for various purposes as the Tamils have done. The Tamils said it with flowers not only in love but also in warfare. The ancient Tamil warriors went to battle, their brows decked with garlands, and each strategic movement had its own symbolic flower.

The influence and vitality of Tamil Culture in Ceylon has been such that it has produced a Tamil literature of worth, of which there is indisputable evidence from the 13th century, and many a Ceylonese poet and scholar crossed the Straits and won fame and recognition in other lands where Tamil is spoken. The name of Arumuga Navalar is associated with a great revivalist movement in Tamil and Saivaism ; C. Y. Thamotherampillai was a pioneer editor of the classics which spear-headed the Tamil Renaissance ; V. Kanagasabaipillai opened up a new

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9 A. SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought and its Development*, pp. 200—205, London, 1936.

10 See M. WINSLOW, Preface to *Tamil-English Dictionary ;* SRI KANTHA, *Terra Tamulica*, Colombo, 1910.

horizon to many a foreigner with his "*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago;*" N. Kathiravelpillai distinguished himself as a lexicographer; Cumaraswamy Pulavar was recognized as a scholar of outstanding merit; Swami Vipulananda occupied the Chair of Tamil at the Annamalai University, and Swami Gnana Prakasar established his reputation for comparative philology and for the history of the Tamil-speaking people. The records of some of the earlier Tamil writers of Ceylon have been included in the "*Tamil Plutarch*" compiled by Simon Casie-Chetty.[11]

Sinhalese sovereigns of various periods extended their patronage to Tamil poets, and the story is told of the forlorn Tamil bard that set out from Jaffna with his poem to the Court of Rajasingha at Kandy, to be told on the way that the last Tamil-speaking King of Ceylon had been taken captive.

IDEALS OF LIFE

Tamil Literature was the result of the *Weltanschauung,* the world outlook of the Tamil-speaking peoples, and at the same time that literature kept alive the outlook and those ideals which shaped it. Imagination is a gift which has been associated with great commercial peoples, and no people in this part of the world were such skilful navigators or traders as the Tamils.

The sea ports of the then Tamil country, which included all the Malabar coast as well, were busy ports of call into which ships from the West sailed with their gold, lamps, wine and goblets, to return home laden with pepper and silks and cotton and ivory, and with the pearls of the Tamil seas. Teak from the Tamil country has been found in the ruins of Ur of the Chaldees, and peacocks and apes of the South were sold abroad as early as Solomon's time. Yavanar, or men of the Graeco-Roman world, established

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11 K. KANAPATHI PILLAI, *Ceylon's Contribution to Tamil Language and Literature in University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (1948); Articles by K. P. RATNAM and K. K. NADARAJAH in the Ceylon Tamil Festival Volume (Tamil), Jaffna, 1951.

colonies and trading stations in the Tamil Kingdoms, and were even employed as engineers, body-guards, palace-guards ,and city-guards in the service of Tamil Kings.[12]

In this trade and overseas expansion the ports of North Ceylon played a great part which is forgotten in the age of the steamship and the aeroplane. Kalpitiya, Mantote, Kayts, Elephant Pass, Trincomalie have a naval history that has yet to be studied from local and foreign records, including the Arab chronicles.

The Tamil Argonauts turned their eyes even more naturally towards the East and with them they carried their art and architecture, their religion, their language and their laws. It is agreed by most writers on Indian influences on South East Asia that the Tamil Kingdoms were among the earliest and the most active.

The author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy speak of the ships that used to sail from the Eastern coasts of South India and Ceylon to the land of gold (Malaya and Java), and Fa Hien refers to his voyage to Java, via Trincomalie. Having travelled lately through South East Asia, I have been able to follow the routes taken by the Tamil Argonauts and see the many lands where the Tamil-speaking people left behind the traces of their genius and culture. In the architecture of Champa and Cambodia, in the sculptures of the Museum of Tourane, in the Saiva Siddantha system of religion once followed in Indonesia and Indo-China, in the bronzes of Siam, may be seen the traces of Tamil influence. The Baratha Natyam has affinities with the dances of Cambodia and Bali ; the Tamil sacred verses are recited by the Court Brahmins of Thailand at the Tamil feasts of Thirupavay and Thiruvempavai and during the coronation of their kings ; certain tribes in Sumatra go under the Tamil names of Chera, Chola, Pandya and Pallava ; and the temples of Dieng plateau, of Po-Nagar,

[12] See E. H. WARMINGTON, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India.*

of Mi-son (Vietnam), of Anghor Thom, show the influence of Tamil architecture.[13]

Islam was spread in the Malay Archipelago largely by Tamil-speaking people.

Because of their international outlook, trade and navigation the Tamils eschewed insularity and developed a remarkable universality of outlook. Wendell Wilkie in *One World* begins his book with the statement, "In future our thinking must be worldwide." The Tamil poet anticipated him by a two thousand years when he said

யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர் !

"Every country is my country ;
Every man is my kinsman."

This sense of universality was instrumental in fashioning Tamil society after a broad and tolerant pattern. Albert Schweitzer in his *Indian Thought and its Development* shows exhaustively the optimistic, humanistic sense of life and life affirmation, the *joie de vivre*, that is characteristic of the Tamil attitude to life. He has also shown that three of the greatest philosophers of India, namely, Sankara, Ramanuja, Ramananda came from the South and were indebted to Tamil thought.

The happy warrior delineated by the Tamil classics is one who has a sense of honour and of chivalry, and who will rather die than turn his back upon a foe or an adverse circumstance. Honour, bravery and nobility (மானம்) required one to bear the marks and scars of battle on the bosom. The story is told of the Tamil matron that heard of her son who had fallen in battle. She hurried to the battlefield in distress lest he should have fallen in retreat, but was relieved and happy when she saw the wounds on his chest, the infallible sign that he had fallen facing the enemy.

13 G. COEDES, *Les etats Hindouises*, Paris, 1948.

The Tamil warrior was expected to cover himself with glory in the arts of war and of peace. Men were illustrious because they left a glorious name (புகழ்) :—

" புகழொடு விளங்கிப் பூக்க
நின் வேலே "

(Puram 21 ; 23).

கானமுயல் எய்த கம்பினில் யானை
பிழைத்த வேல் ஏந்தல் இனிது.

(Kural, 772).

The ideal of tolerance, the will to live and let live, is well illustrated by the anthologies which include poems of every shade of religious and philosophic belief. It is further clear from the scenes in *Manimekhalai* of Tamil cities where philosophers of rival schools expounded their own doctrines from their respective booths, under their own flags—a two thousand-year old anticipation of Hyde Park Corner.

The tradition of Bakthi and the ideal of tolerance explain the fact that nearly every world religion can claim in Tamil a voluminous literature. Tamil Culture has been enriched by poetical works of Saivaites, of Vaishnavites, of Jains, of Buddhists, of Muslims, of Catholics, of Protestants. No other language in the world has been the vehicle of the epic poetry of so many different religions, not Latin, not Sanskrit.

As the ideal of the Philosopher-Statesman was outlined by the Greeks, as the Orator was delineated by the Latins, the Courtier and Governor by the English, the Tamils conceived their educational ideal as the Complete Man, the Perfect Man (சான்றோன்) endowed with honour, greatness, culture, benevolence and grace.

Further, a life of altruistic love was recommended to every Tamil. It has been found that persons dedicated to service and love live longer than others, and probably it is the altruism of Tamil Culture

" தமக்கென வாழாப் பிறர்க்குரியாளன் "
" என் கடன் பணி செய்து கிடப்பதே"

that explains its long survival.

Present State

When one examines the present state of the Tamil-speaking peoples and their fidelity to the ideals that moulded their culture one wonders if they have not lost a great deal of the virility and resource that characterized them of old. It is true they continue to live, to be theistic, and to have a love of the language and literature that nurtured them, but enterprise, initiative, creative activity and philosophic thought are necessary to them, if they are not to be noted for inertia and apathy. Some of their ancient contemporaries are no more; the Chams and the Khmers with whom they traded and who under their inspiration erected colossal monuments are themselves spent forces in the world of today. Unless we are alive to the needs for the conservation and transmission of this culture, it may well be that a few centuries hence we shall have precious little of this heritage left behind in the country of our birth.

1. As the basis and source of this apathy and inertia, I would point to the ignorance of the language, of the literature, of the arts, of the history, of the culture, that exists among our people today, especially among those sections that combine wealth and influence and a lop-sided Western education. Cultures disappear by those very causes by which they flourish, and the disappearance of the ideals that nourished Tamil Culture will eventually lead to the disappearance of Tamil Culture itself.

They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried
and drank deep.

During the last fifty years there has been a revival of interest in Tamil, and this revival must be attributed to the printing and popularising of the Tamil classics. But that revival in Ceylon will not be complete unless it reaches every section of the Tamil-speaking public, particularly those who establish the norms of appreciation and the standards of refinement.

2. The dearth of philosophic thought is, perhaps, the greatest drawback in the popularising of true values in Ceylon. In the spate of talk and oratory about our past glories, we run very dry concerning the problems that affect us in the domain of thought, concerning our beliefs, our code of right and wrong, our political creeds, our ideals of service, our national unity. Philosophy is not the peculiar business of the angels ; it is human business, everybody's business.

The want of creative activity in writing and the Fine Arts that we remark today is mainly due to the lack of an interest in philosophic studies and in pure thought. The publishing houses are bringing out translations and adaptations of foreign works and commentaries on the ancient classics, but original works, works in Tamil that deserve translation into foreign tongues, books on the problems vital to man today are noticeably scarce.

3. A lack of originality is seen in the Tamil radio, the Tamil films, and the Tamil newspapers. It is also visible (or audible) in the platform oratory that is being developed in a manner so that the sense follows the sound ; it is audible in the alien Tamil accent that is heard over Radio Ceylon ; in the hybrid imitations that pass for Tamil dance, and in the poor norms of appreciation of Tamil music.[14]

4. The emphasis hitherto in the Tamil Renaissance has been on the study of literature. An equal emphasis is necessary today on the Fine Arts of the Tamils. We have not produced recently any great sculptor or any great painter. It is by a revival of these arts that we shall teach our people the art of life and the art of gracious living. A very famous English writer on the Tamil dance wrote to me some time ago from Canada : "I would give anything to have a glimpse of a Pallava sculpture or a Chola bronze." It requires an aesthetic mind to be so moved by art.

[14] BERYL DE ZOETE, *The Other Mind*, p. 14, London, 1953.

I have no intention of continuing these observations because I see at the same time a few signs of an awakening of effective interest in our cultural heritage. But the question that agitates our minds today, the mind of every Tamil-speaking citizen be he Muslim or Hindu, Catholic or Protestant, or Buddhist, concerns the future of Tamil Culture in this country.

Languages of Administration

The stagnation in Tamil Culture that has been noted before is not a little due to the want of State patronage during the last three or four hundred years. With the dawn of a new era in our national life, it is but legitimate for us to expect the State to extend the same measure of support to the development of the culture of the two major nationalities that form the Ceylonese nation.

(I follow A. L. Kroeber's definition of nation and nationality :

> "Here are some contemporary cases of political nations that include two or more nationalities. Belgium is almost equally divided between Waloons speaking a French dialect in their homes and Flemings speaking a variant of Dutch. Switzerland is 72 per cent German speaking, 21 per cent French, 6 per cent Italian, 1 per cent Romansch. The Union of South Africa has a white population that is part English speaking and part Afrikaans or Dutch speaking, plus the racially distinct Bantu-Negro natives. India in 1947 set up house-keeping on its own, as two independent political nations with dozens of nationalities and languages.") [15]

In the formation and preservation of nationalities, language is by far the most objective factor. It is the free inter-communication of common speech that provides the consciousness of kinship. Language is the rational and spiritual matrix in which a culture lives, moves and has its being. Hence the Tamil poets have consistently lost

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15 A. L. KROEBER, *Anthropology*, p. 226—227, New York, 1948.

themselves in a mystical enthusiasm over the nature of the language, calling it the sweetest possible names :

> செந்தமிழ், இன்றமிழ், வண்டமிழ், தண்டமிழ், அருந்தமிழ்,
> பசுந்தமிழ், செழுந்தமிழ், தீந்தமிழ், உயர்தமிழ், கோதில்தமிழ்,
> ஒண்டமிழ்.

The use of the Tamil language in the civil, educational and social life of this country is an absolute necessity if Tamil Culture is to survive. Today, Tamil is spoken in every part of Ceylon by over two million people ; it is indigenous to this Island ; its speakers constitute a major nationality ; its cultural influence in the nation is very much greater than may be gauged from the numerical strength of its speakers. Words are the living memorials in which are enshrined much of social and political history. The inner life of every people is stereotyped in their language, and retained there for the instruction of future generations. I could give you hundreds of Tamil words and terms, the disuse of which in administration would impoverish the Tamils in Ceylon in more ways than one. It is but a fundamental and human right that Tamil be one of the languages of administration all over the country so that the Tamil-speaking population may transact their business with Government in their own language, and consequently that their business is attended to by members of the Government service who have a minimum knowledge of the Tamil language.

There is a flagrant contradiction in the statements of those thinkers who would have Tamil as a medium of instruction in schools but not as a medium in administration. If there is equality of opportunity in this Island, it should be made compulsory for a Government servant to have a minimum knowledge of both languages so that he may serve in any part of the Island.

That two languages should function as languages of administration is nothing new in the history of multilingual or bilingual states. South Africa, Canada, Belgium,

Switzerland have their own solutions to the language problems. When three nationalities, four languages, and adherents of three religions have co-operated to build an exceptionally "national" nation in Switzerland, two languages in Ceylon should present no difficulties provided we are determined to preserve the unity of our nation and the territorial integrity of our country. The rule by majority as practised in homogeneous states which have only one language, one nationality, one race, one religion, may not be exercised in countries with a plurality of cultures, nationalities, languages and religions. If the Swiss confederation has made concession to a language like Romansch which is spoken by only one per cent of its population in one of its twenty-five Cantons, and to Italian spoken by six per cent of its population in two of its Cantons, there must be an affinity between democracy and language that is worth learning.[16]

> "In all these countries, Belgium, South Africa and Switzerland, none of the linguistic groups can be properly called a 'national minority,' as each has absolute equality of status with the majority group and its language is used by the state side by side with the language of the majority."—(N. Hans, *Comparative Education*, p. 50.)

In the interests of national stability and solidarity it might be useful for cultural leaders of bilingual and multilingual states to study the questions of national languages on an international plane. Such conferences would strengthen the claims of the Tamil language in Ceylon.

Tamil at the University

If a language is to be the matrix of a flourishing and progressive culture, it is necessaray that it be taught at a University level both as a language and as a medium. I am making no suggestion here with regard to the time when our national languages may be introduced into the University or about the preparation needed for its intro-

16 Consult A. SIEGFRIED, *Switzerland, A Democratic Way of Life*, London, 1950.

duction. Nor am I minimising the importance of a high standard of English desirable at our Universities, but if we wish to develop our languages and our literatures for modern needs and the expression of modern thought, such a development is inconceivable without the national languages becoming the medium in which our intelligentsia think and write, speak and teach. Even for the success of the national languages medium in the elementary and secondary schools, it would seem that a literature at a University level of thought is a prior requisite. So too it is a prior requisite for the progress of all technicalized means of mass communication like the press, the radio and the cinema. The history of the great Buddhist Universities and the Hindu Mutts of the neighbouring continent, as well as the history of Universities in other parts of the world, should convince us of the creative influence exercised by these institutions of higher learning in the transmission of language and culture and in the development of the mother-tongue.

The complaint of creative inactivity in Tamil letters and the barrenness of Tamil Art in Ceylon of today is primarily due to the absence of a centre of Tamil thought and Tamil basic research. Our population and our need, would justify the founding of two more Universities, which would be mainly concerned with the development of the national languages. A University in the Northern or Eastern Province with a Tamil cultural emphasis and another in the South of Ceylon, heir to Totagamuwa, would meet the needs. Of the Wijaya Bahu Pirivena, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam speaking at the Calcutta University Institute in 1916 said :

> "In the fifteenth century we had in Ceylon a splendid College of the University type in the Wijaya Bahu Pirivena at Totagamuwa in Galle District, presided over by Ceylon's greatest poet, Sri Rahula Sthawira. It was catholic in its aims and provided instruction for Buddhists and Hindus, clerical and lay, in all the knowledge of the time." (*Eastern Ideals in Education, in Studies and Translations.*)

To deny Tamil, equality of status and opportunity at the University or at the Universities of Ceylon, is to deny to the Tamil-speaking people that scholarship and opportunity for national service and cultural refinement which are the ends and aims of higher learning. A University

> " aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life."—(Cardinal Newman, *Idea of a University.*)

Are we to be denied these gifts of University life merely because a bilingual University is supposed to be a novel institution in our national experience ? Bilingual Universities are no uncommon feature of bilingual and multilingual countries. They tend to set the tone and the example in tolerance, good understanding and co-operation for the rest of the country. And bilingualism at the University and in administration function on the understanding that on the part of the language groups there will be no linguistic or cultural imposition which involves the sacrifice of the mother-tongue.

The existence of the age-long cultures side by side should be looked upon as a source of fruitfulness and mutual benefits. Hence our Universities, schools, and adult educational agencies should provide opportunities for the study of the two national languages. Citizens should be encouraged to learn the other national language so that they may break the linguistic barrier in the interests of social harmony. In Ceylon, we possess already a linguistic environment favourable to the study of Sinhalese, Tamil and English, and as many citizens as possible should avail themselves of this opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the three languages, naturally, in varying degrees of proficiency.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE

Thus far I have spoken of State patronage and of institutions for the promotion of Tamil Culture in Ceylon. The State may not relinquish its obligations in favour of private enterprise and initiative, nor may it attempt at consoling us with the assurance that " Tamil will be taken care of in South India." Our reply then would be : " We are Ceylonese and the Tamil language belongs here in its own right, and even if Tamil *per impossible* ceased to be the living language in other parts of the world, we shall endeavour to make it continue to flourish in this Island reserve." An assurance of Tamil prosperity in South India would be similar to assuring the French-Swiss nationality that French need not be an official language in Switzerland because it is the official language across the border in France, or that the University of Lausanne is superfluous because there is a University in Paris, or to saying that the mother-tongue may be neglected in Australia because English is taught in the United States. The growth of Tamil in Ceylon has been independent, though that growth did always admit of influences from across the seas in the same maner as the other great language of this Island.

Nor is it accurate to say that the Tamils are so endowed with intelligence that they will learn the Sinhalese language and wield it with the facility of a mother-tongue even better than the Sinhalese themselves. This is a very unscientific conjecture entirely unsupported by facts. The Tamils can never acquire the same command of Sinhalese as those to whom Sinhalese is the mother-tongue, unless they are prepared to change their mother-tongue. There are very, very few people in the world who are able to think, speak and write two languages with the same equal facility.[17] And what guarantee is there that even

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[17] MARIO PEI, *The Story of Langudge*, New York, 1949, p. 104 :
" A trace of foreign accent is present in about 99% of cases where a person on one linguistic background tries to speak another tongue."

if they sell their birthright, origins, religion, names and antecedents will not prevent discrimination should Government or society choose to discriminate against them ?

Some Ways and Means

There are ways and means by which individuals may promote Tamil Culture, either singly or in a body. It would not be wrong to say that the State and the Universities receive their tone and their standards also from the society which they represent, so that the higher the standards of society, the higher is the standard of cultural patronage by the State and of efficiency at the University. Here are some ways and means by which the objectives of a cultural revival may be achieved :

1. Active support should be given to associations dedicated to the study and promotion of *Tamiliana.*

2. Tamil society should set the highest standards in this revivalist and progressive movement. Awards (cash, medals, books) should be offered for creative work and for translations.

3. Libraries and Museums should be established as means of adult education and films should be made of the Tamil heritage. The project of the Jaffna Library merits the support of the entire country.

4. A comprehensive Tamil-Sinhalese-English Dictionary and a Tamil Encyclopaedia for Ceylon should be compiled.

5. Basic research should be undertaken by cultural associations so that the significance and import of Tamil

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Page 191 :
"It has been fully established that a change in language on the part of an individual is attended by corresponding changes in gestures, facial expression, carriage, even humour and taboos. This is readily observable in the case of bilingual speakers when they pass from one language to the other."

Page 254 :
"Linguistic intolerance is manifested in the aversion to other languages than one's own. As a student of linguistic sociology puts it, 'To the naive monoglot, objects and ideas are identical with and inseparable from the particular words used to describe them in the one language he knows ; hence he is inclined to consider speakers of other languages as something less than human, or at least foreign and hostile to the world of his own experience.' "

customs and habits and way of life may be popularised among the Tamil-speaking people.

6. Teachers of Tamil should be well-qualified and be lovers of Tamil literature that enjoy Tamil poetry in their leisure. A new orientation in the prescribing of books of study and in their teaching is necessary if Tamil children are to love their language and enjoy poetry and the Tamil Arts as the expression of life and experience, and wield their language for intelligent and effective citizenship.

The writing of poetry should receive especial attention, since poetry, more than any other Fine Art, is a powerful vehicle for the transmission of a people's ideals, history and language.

7. Tamil monuments in Ceylon should be better studied and preserved. If the State for some reason or other, has not hitherto prepared specialists in Tamil archaeology or Tamil history, it should be the duty of the Tamil Cultural Association to request the State to do so. The University, the Department of Archaeology, the Public Museums should have scholars well versed in *Tamiliana.*

Scholarships may be offered to deserving students by the Tamil-speaking public.

8. Tamil studies should be made to show the points of contact and elements common with Sinhalese Culture so as to promote understanding and national solidarity.

9. The Tamil classics should be translated into Sinhalese and books on Tamil Culture be written in English and Sinhalese for the promotion of inter-nationality harmony.

10. The contribution in thought, in literature, in art made by the Tamil-speaking people should be made known through translations in the principal languages of Europe and Asia, because that contribution is part of the world's heritage. In the past, for political and religious reasons, Tamil studies had enthusiastic students in Portugal, Holland, France and England. In the future, it will be the duty of Tamils themselves to give their treasures to their fellowmen, and a few Tamil scholars at least should learn Hindi, Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian for this purpose.

11. Culture is dependent for its origin and its development on geography and on the land. Tamil Culture has had always an intimate communion with the land

as is to be seen from the earliest Tamil poetry down to our own day. The tendency of people to flock to the towns should be arrested, for extreme urbanization and the consequent change means death to a culture such as ours. One cannot be opposed to change or to the absorbing of elements that are conducive to cultural progress. But the process of change should not involve the ceasing of a vital internal development. The Tamil-speaking people should co-operate in colonisation programmes and revive the agricultural bias of their social structure.

12. Every Tamil-speaking citizen should make his own contribution to this cultural movement, by study, by doing promotional work, and by material assistance. Many associations and authors fail to give of their best for want of adequate finances.

Unto the Last

These, ladies and gentlemen, are some of the measures that we may adopt in order that we may reacquire our Culture for ourselves and our generation, and that we may leave it to those who follow us, richer and nobler, if possible, than we found it. There is no doubt that the task of nation-building is not a light one, and that the problems that beset us are many and varied. While other bilingual states are parts of continents and have large territories contiguous to them, Nature and history and a common patrimony intend us to be one nation in our Island home. Because Tamil is the mother-tongue also in other countries, no Tamil-speaking Ceylonese has ever ceased to think of this Island but as his home, his country and his motherland. For two thousand years and more, our two major nationalities have lived together, and there is no reason for not hoping that Sinhalese Culture will be a source of inspiration and strength to Tamil Culture and that Tamil Culture will be a source of inspiration and strength to Sinhalese Culture. The great Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in a speech that inaugurated the national movement in this country saw the vision of a future Ceylon which because of progress and leadership would serve as a beacon lihgt to the rest of Asia. Asia

today throbs with the consciousness of a new hope and destiny, and within the frame-work of a new world, our country situated in the centre between East and West has the new opportunity to evolve a life of its own, her own democracy, by learning from the experience of other nations on either side of her but by solving her own problems in the manner best suited to her own national genius.

If I have ventured to suggest to you a few measures for the continued preservation and development of Tamil Culture, I have done so in the spirit of a student. The history that I have outlined, the language in which our mothers sang to us when rocking our cradles, the words that have become dear to us by traditional usage and the phrases that have become consecrated in our prayers at home or at common worship, the literature that has formed, nurtured and elevated us and offered us the ideals which we cherish, these are some of the factors that contributed to the Tamil-speaking peoples existing as a nationality upon this Island. One is not less a Ceylonese for being loyal to Tamil Culture or to Sinhalese Culture.

While it is true that a culture may not be created artificially, it is equally true that it is in the power of men to contribute to the causes and work at those conditions necessary for a flowering of culture, and it is also in the power of men to combat those intellectual errors and the emotional prejudices which stand in the way of such conditions. The survival and the continued growth of Tamil Culture is, therefore, in our hands.

It is selfless and noble to dedicate one's time and energies under God to one's Culture and one's Country. The Tamil sage implied that Tamil Culture is the dearest possession of the Tamil people for the preservation of which no sacrifice would be great enough, not even life itself :

பண்புடையார்ப் பட்டுண்டு உலகம்
அஃதின்றேல் மண்புக்கு மாய்வதுமன்

Reviews

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA-SECOND VOLUME

The publication of the second volume marks another distinct stage in the endeavours of the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam to complete the great task they have set before themselves. Compared with the progress made by lexicon-writers and editors of encyclopaedias in other countries, they have every cause for satisfaction that though lacking even in essential resources they are forging ahead at a rate that should rouse envy in the hearts of less enterprising peoples, whose dream of an encyclopaedia of their own is yet too remote for realization. We owe it to the unrelenting and determined efforts of the editors as well as the contributors, that the target dates are being kept in every possible direction.

Several criticisms have been advanced in regard to the first volume of the encyclopaedia, and the second volume too has not escaped strictures. But the concensus of opinion certainly is that in an undertaking so prodigious where the whole field of knowledge known to modern man has to be covered, omissions, perhaps some of them serious, are likely to occur, which to some extent detract from its value. So on the whole the editors of the encyclopaedia must be congratulated on the measure of success that they have achieved in regard to the erudition and skill they have brought to bear upon the presentation of matter so vast and varied and which occasionally defies both analysis and synthesis.

Sometimes descriptions of persons and things are neither full nor sufficiently illuminating. For example, the account given of the University of Ceylon is rather meagre. There is no mention made at all of Edward VIII

of England, while the other Edwards find a place in the encyclopaedia. Some of the sketches could contain illustrative details and references. In the brief account given of the Greek legendary hero, Endymion, a reference to the English poet Keats's work *Endymion* may be brought in. Descriptions of Capital Cities sometimes leave much to be desired. If the editors could indicate to the contributors the precise nature and quantum of information required, they would not give room for criticisms of the type already referred to. Besides, they should themselves ransack the literatures and other sources of knowledge available on the subjects concerned in order to supplement the meagre information that might be supplied by the contributors.

In conclusion, one cannot but extol the good work done by the publishers in both volumes. We have to offer them special praise for the ingenuity, thoroughness and efficiency with which they have used in most cases pure Tamil terms for highly recondite and technical ideas which have been so far studied and understood only in English by Indians in general. This would serve as an eye-opener to those half-hearted reformers who are unwilling to make Tamil, or the regional language for that matter, either as an instrument of modern thought or as a medium of instruction in Universities. The Tamil encyclopaedia will surely pave the way for the publication in Tamil of innumerable authoritative standard text books on modern sciences and arts which would come to be prescribed for study by students in the University. Especially when such a wealth of Tamil vocabulary has been created to meet the demands of higher knowledge the next step forward would be to bring out standard books in Tamil on all subjects according to the requirements of University authorities. This would by all means hasten the introduction of the Tamil medium in Colleges. In this regard, both the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam and The Academy of Tamil Culture should vie with one another not only in the creation of

standard scientific and technical terminology but also in the production of books by offering the necessary incentive to Tamil scholars, who have creative ability and a talent for writing books. Above all the best service that could be rendered to the cause of the Tamil language would be to encourage the writing of Tamil that is pure, simple, chaste, racy and which carries with it the indelible stamp of the genius of the language.

TRANSLATIONS OF TAMIL POEMS INTO CZECH BY DR. KAMIL ZVELEBIL

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, our contributor from Prague, has published recently an anthology of classical Tamil verse as an edition de luxe, richly illustrated. This anthology, which appeared under the title கருப்பு *" CERNY KVET "*, comprises about 50 poems in Czech poetical translation, selected from the Akam, Narrinai and Kuruntokai collections. Soon another anthology of Tamil Cangkam poetry will be published in Dr. Zvelebil's Czech translation, comprizing about 200 stanzas. Thus the Czechoslovak readers have been, for the first time, acquainted with the riches and splendour of old Tamil Poetry.

News and Notes

THE FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

The first Annual General meeting of the Academy was held on the 27th August 1955 in the Quinn Hall, Loyola College with Mr. Justice N. Somasundaram, President, in the chair and the usual business was transacted.

Following the General meeting, there was a public meeting over which Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai presided. The gathering was large and the hall was packed to capacity. The proceedings began with a prayer in Tamil sung by the well known actor Mr. T. K. Shanmugam. Professor Filliozat of the College De France, Paris, then delivered an address on "Tamil and Sanskrit". The full text of his address is printed elsewhere in this number.

Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaranar, who was the next speaker, expressed gratification at the keen enthusiasm and interest shown by the Tamil public, particularly the student population, towards Tamil language and culture but sounded a note of warning that unless this interest and enthusiasm were capitalised and translated into action it would serve no purpose.

Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam of the University of Ceylon, the Chief Editor of Tamil Culture, mentioned that, in connection with his educational and religious work, he had of necessity to learn a number of languages including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Portugese and he had no hesitation in endorsing Bharathi's dictum

யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழி போல்
இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணோம்.

He referred to his recent visits to the countries in the Far East where he was able to recognise many elements of Tamil influence in the fields of religion as well as art and architecture. Amongst other things he referred to the fact that certain sects in Indonesia were known as Cheras, Cholas and Pandiyas and to the tradition obtaining at the annual coronation celebrations at Bangkok in Thailand of singing by the High priest there of Tamil stanzas from Tiruvachagam (Tiruvembavai).

Dr. K. K. Pillai, Professor of History, Madras University emphasised the need for conducting research in a scientific spirit and mentioned instances of scholars in historical and literary fields in Tamil Nad who approached problems with preconceived prejudices, leading them to absurd and highly inconsistent findings. In particular he pointed out the fallacy of conclusions drawn by some scholars in regard to language on the basis of inscriptions raised by non Tamilians, particularly Buddhist and Jain immigrants into Tamil Nad.

Professor Sethu Pillai, in his concluding speech, felt that it was a good augury that scholars of the type of Prof. Filliozat and Dr. Thani Nayagam were able after considerable research to bring out the antiquity, independent evolution and the expansive influence of Tamil language and culture. He was confident that it would no longer be possible for prejudiced writers, masquerading as historians and literary scholars, to belittle the antiquity and the greatness that belong of right to Tamil language and Tamil culture. He stated that a wave of enthusiasm was rising among all sections of the Tamil people and hoped to see ere long the achievement of his life-long desire, viz., to see Tamil enthroned as the language of administration and of education at all levels.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Valavan Pandian, Professor of Tamil, Loyola College and with a Tamil National Anthem sung by Mr. T. K. Shanmugam.

HINDI AND NON-HINDI REGIONS

President Rajendra Prasad has reiterated the Government's assurance to the people of the South and other Non-Hindi regions that there is no question of imposing Hindi on any one. Inaugurating the Hindi exhibition organised by the Central Educational Ministry in August last, the President said that there was no attempt on the part of the Government to put the people whose mother-tongue was not Hindi in a position of disadvantage or to put whose mother-tongue was Hindi in an advantageous position. Referring to the question of the Union Public Service Commission conducting its competitive examinations through the medium of Hindi, the President said that although steps may be taken to encourage the use of Hindi as the medium of these examinations those who might prefer to use the medium of English or their mother-tongue would be free to do so subject to their passing a test in Hindi later on. He was therefore of the view that there was no justification for thinking that there was even a remote possibility of the Non-Hindi speaking candidates being discriminated against or put to any disadvantage.

HINDI AND GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

The Home Ministry of the Government of India have issued an order that all Central Government servants should have sufficient knowledge of Hindi by January 26, 1965. In this connection, it is understood that the Home Ministry is considering a suggestion made by President Rajendra Prasad that, if necessary, Government servants should be asked to devote one hour out of their eight hour day to the learning of Hindi.

HINDI AND ENGLISH

The Official Language Commission, as it is reported, received surprising answers to their questionnaire. It is learnt that Kaka Kalelkar, who has been a Champion of Hindi as the State Language of India, has suggested to the

Commission that English should not be replaced for another 15 years.

The Syndicate of the Madras University in their answer to the questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission has opposed the early replacement of English by Hindi. The Syndicate is of the opinion that the replacement of English by Hindi will place most persons belonging to the Non-Hindi speaking areas at a serious disadvantage, the more so in regard to such Non-Hindi speaking areas as South India, where Hindi language and script are almost wholely unknown. They further think that there cannot be any possible method of safeguarding the claims of persons belonging to the Non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services unless English is also allowed as a language of examination along with Hindi till such time as one of the regional languages has developed sufficiently to replace English in the higher stages of learning. The Syndicate is also of the view that if the medium for the Public Service Examinations is to be changed from English, any of the languages mentioned in the constitution may be used and the candidates must be given the choice to use any one of these languages. On the question of propagation of Hindi in Non-Hindi speaking areas, the Syndicate has stated that it may be the duty of the Central Government and the State Government of the Hindi speaking areas to expend money on the propagation and enrichment of the Hindi language. But other States will have their corresponding obligation for the propagation and enrichment of their regional languages.

The Syndicate has also suggested that the use of English as the official language may be extended for at least a period of 30 years from the date of commencement of the constitution.

TAMIL AS STATE LANGUAGE

Sri K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras, has stated that ultimately the aim of the Government is that the administration of the State should be carried on only in

the regional language. He also thinks that the process of introducing the regional language for conducting the administration of the State will gather momentum as soon as the re-alignment of State boundaries is completed in the light of the recommendations of the State Reorganisation Commission.

During the discussion on the questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission in the Madras Legislative Assembly, Sri C. Subramanian, Finance Minister, stated that there will be no objection to the study of a common language so long as the autonomy of the State was ensured in regard to the development of the Regional Language for administrative and educational purposes. Regarding the adoption of Hindi as the official language, the Minister said that the part of the *Constitution* relating to that subject required complete re-thinking. The decision contained in the chapter was arrived at as a compromise formula and it should be re-examined in the light of the existing circumstances.

The Madras Presidency Tamil Sangam at its meeting held at Tirunelveli welcomed the statement of the Finance Minister in the Madras Legislative Assembly that the regional language would be the official language of the State. It was also announced at the meeting that the Administrative Terms Committee of the Sangam had already coined about 5,000 Tamil equivalents of English administrative terms, and Government was urged to give financial aid to the Sangam to complete its work.

DEPARTMENT OF DRAVIDIAN PHILOLOGY

On the 15th of October 1955, the new Department of Dravidian Philology of the Annamalai University was inaugurated by Sri C. Subramanian, Minister for Finance and Education. The following is an account of the circumstances which led to the opening of this department, sent to us for publication by the Public Relations Officer, Annamalai University.

In recognition of the services of the Annamalai University to the cause of higher education, the Union Government sanctioned, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, a non-recurring grant of Rs. Three lakhs for the establishment of a Chair in Tamil.

To formulate proposals for the utilization of the grant, a Special Committee was formed, consisting of the following gentlemen : Sri A Ramanatham Pillai, then Deputy to the Vice-Chancellor (Convener), Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai (now Vice-Chancellor), Dr. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Professor L. P. KR. Ramanathan Chettiar and Professor G. Subramania Pillai. After deep thought and deliberation, the Committee reported that having regard to the genesis of the University, the intentions of the Founder, the wishes of the public, and the aspirations of the youth of Tamil Nad, the University has a distinctive role to play in the field of higher education, namely that of giving the foremost place to Tamil and providing facilities for and encouraging the study of Tamil and research in it in all its aspects—language, literature, culture, philosophy, religion, archaeology, fine arts, music, sculpture, architecture etc. In due course and as finances permit, facilities for the study of and research in Tamil in all its aspects should be provided. But provision of research in all these branches all at once may not be feasible, and so it would be necessary to undertake at present one or two schemes within the financial capacity of the University.

Several fruitful lines of work that have to be pursued, were outlined in the order of preference. To start with, Studies in Comparative Philology were considered essential as they open out a vista of useful investigations.

Preparation of a new Etymological Dictionary in Tamil and research in Comparative Dravidian Philology are very important subjects. Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai has stressed the importance of philological research in Tamil, and the need for the immediate preparation of an etymo-

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logical dictionary in Tamil. He says, "Dr. Caldwell gave the lead in this direction but after him no systematic attempt has been made to study the Dravidian Language from the scientific point of view."

Research work and the preparation of the etymological dictionary will necessitate the appointment of a competent Professor of Tamil assisted by research scholars in each of the other Dravidian languages namely, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam.

The next proposal is a scheme for the study of, and research in, Tamil Philosophy—Saiva Siddhanta and Vaishnava Siddhanta. Due importance has not so far been given to these subjects. Again no research or study has been made of the work of Thirumular. It may be taken on hand as early as possible. There is no need to dilate on the importance of the two philosophies.

The third scheme is research in the field of History, Archaeology and Epigraphy etc. There are many unexplored regions in South Indian history. There is as yet no connected and authentic account or history of South India and its people from the earliest times, based on systematic study and research.

The fourth scheme is research in Tamil Literature. No doubt some work in this field has been done already and is being done even today. The department of Tamil Research in the University is at present engaged in the work of publishing a Variorum edition of *Kamba Ramayanam* and also in publishing the twelve *Tirumurais.* Further lines of research would have to be pursued in the following :

(a) Research in Sangam Literature. There is need for authoritative commentaries on some Sangam works and also on important later works.

(b) Critical editions, with translations in English and notes, of Tamil classics, such as *Kamba Ramayanam, Thirukkural, Silappathikaram* and *Thiruvasakam.*

(c) Further, Tamil Literature is in need of literary criticism. One of the directions in which research should be undertaken as early as possible by this University is the production of critical works on Tamil classics like *Kamba Ramayanam, Silappathikaram, Periyapuranam* and some Sangam works on the lines of Bradley's "Tragedies of Shakespeare".

(d) An exhaustive history of Tamil literature on the lines of Saintsbury's "History of English Literature". A History of Tamil Literature up to the end of the 10th century has been completed by the Research department. It has to be continued and brought up to date.

(e) The History of Tamil Grammar from the age of *Tholkappiam* has to be presented to the public in a fresh light after adequate research.

(f) In the field of music and dance, Tamil Literature has something valuable to contribute. Rare passages from *Silappathikaram* have to be studied and explained. As it is, it is a sealed book. Research in these would be interesting and instructive.

and (g) Similarly, research in sculpture and temple architecture has to be undertaken under the auspices of the University.

The Syndicate accepted the above recommendations of the Special Committee and decided to create a Silver Jubilee Chair in Tamil with a complement of lecturers for work with special reference to the preparation of the new Etymological Dictionary in Tamil and research in Comparative Philology.

The Academic Council unanimously accepted the proposals of the Syndicate.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND DRAVIDIAN CULTURE

It was brought to the notice of the Academy that the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology nominated recently

by the Government of India has many representatives on it interested in Aryan or Sanskritic Culture, while not a single representative interested in Dravidian or Tamil Language or Culture has been appointed thereto. It was resolved that the Academy should make suitable representations to the Ministry of Education in this regard.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE TAMILS
CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

In its issue of October 17, 1955, *Tamil Nadu,* Madurai, published a photograph of a bronze statue of a palm tree climber exhibited in the Natural History Museum, Chicago, with the following descriptive caption :

> The Tamils are a mixture of White and Negro stocks and have dark brown and wavy hair. They climb toddy palms to obtain sap for making wine.

This gross misrepresentation has drawn indignant protests from Tamilians both in India and abroad and on the matter being brought to the notice of the Governing Council, it was decided that the Academy should take suitable action to correct the misconceptions.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

Hard[1]	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
(Plosive)	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)
Soft	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)
(Nasal)	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)
Medium	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
(non-nasal	ர	—	r	(,, red)
continuant)	ல	—	l	(,, leave)
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)
Auxiliary[2] (Aytham)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ?)

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated, unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant :—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – ,, panjam, not pancam

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு ,, ehhu not exku

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, is variable; it acquires a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு becomes ehhu

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), transliteration need not be resorted to. In thc case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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